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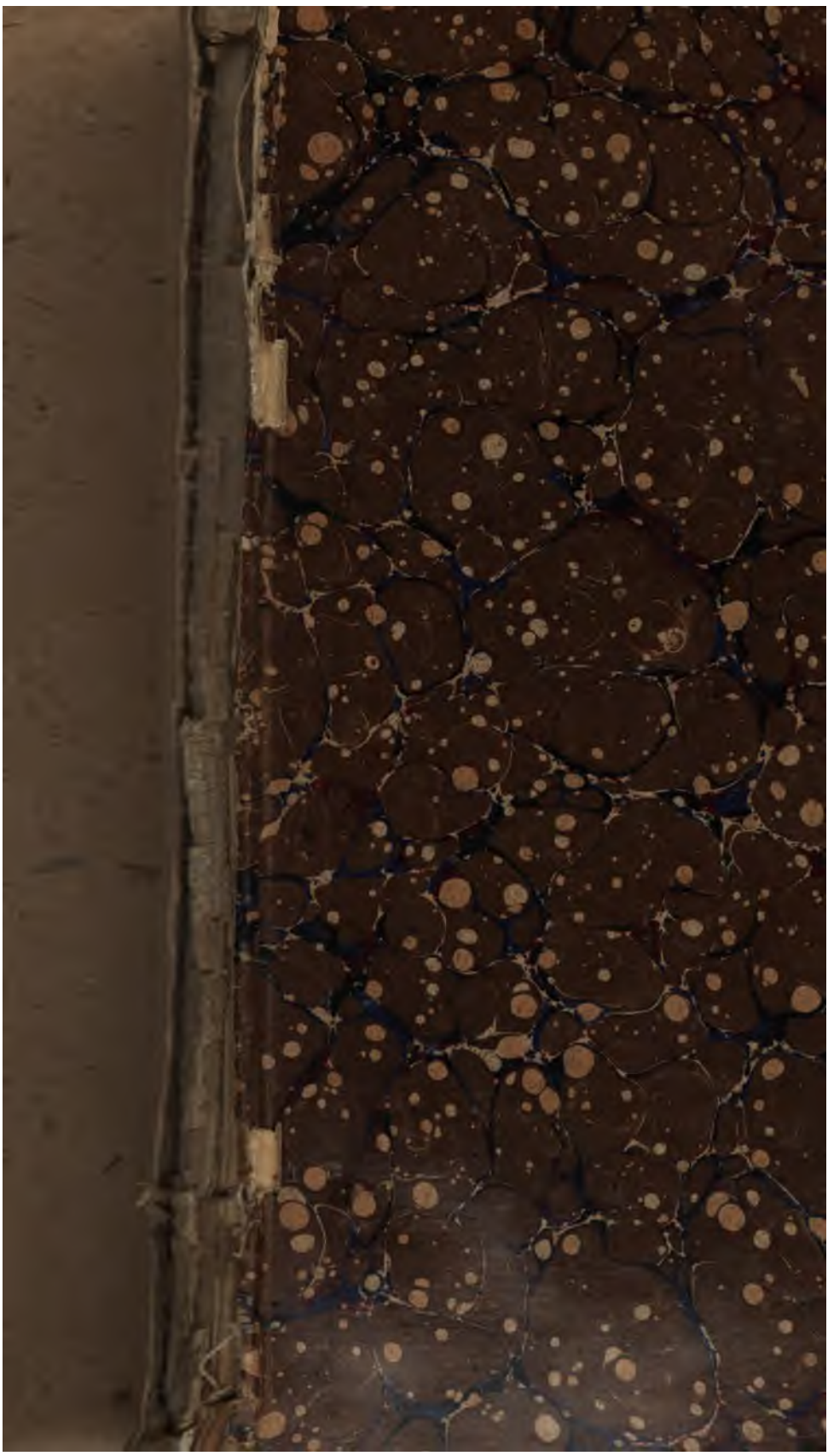

Thomas Davis

VOL. X. NEW SERIES. PART 1.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 24, 1895.

WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
PRESS OF CHARLES HAMILTON,
311 MAIN STREET.
1895.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.

NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

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OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. X.

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HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

CONTENTS.

PAGE

NOTE vii

ERRATA viii

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 24, 1895.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING 1

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. Necrology. *Charles C. Smith; Frank P. Goulding; Stephen Salisbury; Hubert Hall* 12

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA. *Samuel Swett Green* 32

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN 71

GIVERS AND GIFTS 84

THE LAW OF ADULTERY AND IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENTS—WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PENALTY OF WEARING A LETTER AFFIXED TO THE CLOTHING. *Andrew McFarland Davis.* 97

THE STORY OF CHEQUAMEGON BAY. *Reuben Gold Thwaites* . . 127

THE FOOD OF CERTAIN AMERICAN INDIANS AND THEIR METHODS OF PREPARING IT. *Lucien Carr* 155

PALENQUE. *Edward H. Thompson* 191

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 23, 1895.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING 195

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. Necrology. *Edward G. Porter; J. Evarts Greene; Stephen Salisbury* 204

SOME EARLY WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. A. D. 1724–1726. Illustrated. *Egbert C. Smyth* 212

REPORT OF THE TREASURER 248

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN 254

GIVERS AND GIFTS 268

A LIST OF EARLY AMERICAN IMPRINTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. *Nathaniel Paine* . . 281

THE LITERATURE OF WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND. *Justin Winsor* 351

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW COMMUNITIES AND STATES IN THE NORTHWEST. *Cushman K. Davis* 374

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW. *Charles Francis Adams* 387

ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL TEXT INSCRIBED ON TWO PALENQUE TABLETS. Illustrated. *Philipp J. J. Valentini* 399

ANCIENT TOMBS OF PALENQUE. Illustrated. *Edward H. Thompson.* 418

NOTE.

In this, the tenth volume of the "Proceedings,"— New Series,— are included the reports of the Semi-Annual Meeting, held at Boston, April 24, 1895, and of the Annual Meeting at Worcester, October 23, 1895.

Besides the reports of the Council, prepared by Samuel S. Green and Egbert C. Smyth, are papers by Andrew McF. Davis, Reuben G. Thwaites, Lucien Carr, Nathaniel Paine, Justin Winsor, Cushman K. Davis, Charles Francis Adams, Philipp J. J. Valentini and Edward H. Thompson.

The annual report of the Treasurer, and the semi-annual reports of the Librarian also form a part of the volume.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

WORCESTER, JUNE, 1896.

ERRATA.

Page 41, line 10, for *1629 to 1632* read *1729 to 1732*.
Page 118, line 3 *n.*, for *Rob't* read *Richard*.
Page 144, line 18 *n.*, for *B* read *R*.
Page 268, line 9, for *Caleb* read *James*.
Page 319, line 20, for *1805* read *1815*.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 24, 1895, AT THE HALL OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M., by the President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY. In the temporary absence of the RECORDING SECRETARY, Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE was elected Secretary *pro tem.*

The following members were present[1]:—

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Lucius R. Paige, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Frederic W. Putnam, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, James P. Baxter, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, J Franklin Jameson, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Charles J. Hoadly, Benjamin A. Gould, Reuben G. Thwaites, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, Edward F. Johnson, William DeL. Love, Jr., Rockwood Hoar, James L. Whitney.

The PRESIDENT: "I notice the presence here of our oldest member, Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, who has just entered upon the ninety-fourth year of his age. His attendance at this stated meeting is an honor to the Society and he has our congratulations. Those in favor of having a notice of

[1] The names of members follow the order of their election.

his attendance spread upon the records will manifest it by rising." The rising vote was unanimous.

The PRESIDENT: "Some of our members have noticed what seemed to them to be an unnecessary labor and reiteration in the fact that the Treasurer's statement is made public twice in the same year. It entails some work on the Treasurer, which seems to be unnecessary, and the report occupies more space in the bound volume than is required. Hence the Council have thought that a modification of the by-laws would be wise."

Secretary CHASE: "In accordance with Article IX. of the by-laws, which reads that 'No new law or alteration of any of these by-laws shall be made unless recommended by the Council and adopted by the Society at a stated meeting,' the Council recommends to the Society an amendment to Article IV., in reference to the duties of the Treasurer. Instead of the words 'shall present a copy thereof to the Council at their meeting next preceding any stated meeting of the Society,' the Council recommends that it read 'next preceding the annual meeting of the Society'; that is, a substitution of the word annual' for 'any stated.'"

On motion, this amendment was unanimously adopted.

The report of the Council was then presented by Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

The TREASURER made a brief statement of the finances of the Society.

The report of the Librarian was presented by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The PRESIDENT announced that the entire report of the Council was open for remarks.

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL: "I will make one remark in connection with the interesting and valuable paper on the Scotch-Irish in this country. Those of us whose vocation it is to be more or less familiar with anthropological literature of recent date, know how much stress is laid upon

crossing of bloods. The literature in that line has made certain laws pretty plain and definite. I do not know where there is a better illustration of the beneficial effects of crossing different stocks than this. There was probably not a great deal of intermarriage and the Scotch and Irish blood was not much mixed. The Irish race anthropologically regarded is, as a stock, remarkable for its vitality, for its *esprit*, for its ready wit, for its quick susceptibility to all relations with all things and all men around it. On the other hand, the Scotch mature later, and from the standpoint of brain analysis they must be as remarkable for the fibres that connect the parts of the cortex one with the other, the so called 'association fibres,' as the Irish brain must be for 'projective fibres' connecting with the external world. How thoroughly proved that is I would not like to say. I do not think the measurements have yet decided, and the final verdict is not in. Such measurements must cover a very large area, and must include a *consensus* from a very large number of single cases. But it is a matter of great interest, and that there is something in it, even the most conservative may, I think, admit.

"Now of those races that have come together in this way, one of the best combinations in history is this of the Scotch and Irish. Anthropology teaches us that many of the combinations of the bloods of different ancestral racial stock have not been happy; that many of the effects of crossing have been injurious; that they have produced instability, early death; and that the fertility of the stock has been affected unfavorably. History shows that in the great majority of cases the intermingling of blood has been unhappy. So it seems to me worthy of going on record that here we have what very safe writers may designate as one of the best combinations. The combination of racial bloods is not a mere matter of biology or physiology, but it involves the very highest mental qualities. It is not a physical matter alone, because physical inheritance does not include mere

physical mingling of the bloods, but it includes that subtle atmosphere of associations, of home traditions, of family recollections and ideals and aims, that are so inseparable. Therefore it includes all the environment of childhood and early youth. The favorable commingling of bloods is seen in the Scotch-Irish race; and they are not only more susceptible to all environments outside, but their activity is prolonged to a greater period of age. They maintain their vigor and longevity. My old friend and colleague, Dr. McCosh, is one of the best illustrations of the influence of psychological commingling. He came well on in middle life to a new country with new ideas, and he came into a department in process of rapid and radical transformation. He came full of the traditions of the old Scotch philosophy ingrained in his very blood, a philosophy which has been the most conservative and most unprogressive, and he not only adapted himself with remarkable facility to the new environment of a new country but to the new philosphical situation. There was not a man in the country that was so ready to welcome and receive all those newer ideas that came from biological and anthropological sources as Dr. McCosh. It gave him another register to his mind, and I cannot help thinking that that is a significant and unusual result which is to be of great value in the future history of the races. Now that we are coming to understand these laws; now that we are coming to see that they come out more in the soul than they do in the body; that they seem to have their chief field of display in a later development of the higher regions of intellect and feeling and emotion and enthusiasm,—I must think that these views are to have a practical effect upon the very most practical of all matters which young men and young women are called upon to consider, and which bear upon the foundation and perpetuity of families and of races."

Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE: "I have been much instructed by the paper which has been read this morning on the

Scotch or Scotch-Irish in America. It recalls a brief record which recently came under my eye in reading the unpublished journal of John Rowe, a Boston merchant, for the period 1764–1779. His entry for May 11, 1774, is 'Capt. Lyde in Wm. Dennie's ship arrived, and a vessell from Scotland with upwards of a hundred passengers.' Neither the journal nor the newspapers of the time state where these passengers went. It is the only record of the arrival of emigrants which Rowe makes. It may be noted incidentally that the Scotch have affected the life and history of Massachusetts less than those of several other States.

"The Scotch has seemed to me to be the strongest race in the world, and I may mention one or two points concerning them which have impressed me. It is striking to observe how largely they are the superintendents of factories. I have myself seen them holding such positions at places remote from each other,—in New Hampshire, Rhode Island and even in Mexico. Their function is to direct the actual running of the mill and to see that the laborers work faithfully and effectively.

"I was in Columbia, South Carolina, a few years ago on the evening before the Farmers' convention which accomplished a political revolution in that State. I was struck with the healthy and robust bodies of the delegates, many of whom were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent, a race which still largely holds the plantations of the Carolinas. They seemed intelligent and vigorous mentally as well as physically. I can answer too for their excellent powers of digestion; for they consumed food altogether beyond the capacity of most of us. The way in which this race has held its own in that State testifies to its permanency and durability.

"The religion which has prevailed in Scotland seems to have fitted the race. One cannot quite understand how the French were so responsive to Calvinism, but we cannot be surprised that the Scotch were. The tough fibre of the

Scotch character and the tough fibre of Genevan theology were woven readily together.

"The Scotch Church polity and doctrine have, however, not kept their hold in Massachusetts. By some process of evolution, in a case argued before Chief Justice Shaw, with Choate and Dana on one side and Bartlett and Hillard on the other, where I remember to have heard Choate's plea, it was held that it was no perversion of a religious trust for an estate on Long Lane, afterwards Federal Street, given in 1735 to be held according to the tenures of the Church of Scotland, to be afterwards used for the maintenance of the Unitarian Church now standing at the corner of Arlington and Boylston streets."[1]

Senator GEORGE F. HOAR: "I think this paper is one of the best papers we have had for a great many years, and one of the most suggestive. I was delighted with what was said by the two gentlemen who have spoken, but in regard to President Hall's interesting remarks I should like to be instructed a little by the author of the paper as to whether there was any intermarriage between the Scotch who went to Ireland and whose children came here, and the Irish. Were they generally the men who went over with Edward Bruce, or of the men who went over in Cromwell's time? I had supposed, from imperfect knowledge, that nearly all the Scotch-Irish who came to this country before the Revolution only staid in Ireland for a generation or two, and that there was a very bitter division between them and the Catholic Irish whom they found there, so that there was no intermixture by marriage of any consequence. The names are almost invariably Scotch names, not Irish names, although Celtic names are common to both. I should like to have Mr. GREEN tell us whether in fact we get any illustration of President HALL'S laws from the transient abode of the

[1] Attorney-General *vs.* Proprietors of the Meeting-house in Federal street in the Town of Boston. 3 Gray's Reports, p. 1.

Scotchmen in Ireland, unless it is contained in that part of his paper which he did not read."

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN: "I did speak of that in the part of the paper which I omitted in reading. The Scotch had long been wandering over Europe, but it was about the beginning of the seventeenth century that large colonies from the lowlands began to cross to Ireland. The great plantation in Ulster began in 1610. The immigrant Scots mingled very little with the Irish. They were careful to keep apart. They did mingle with the Huguenots and with the English Puritans. But they became enlarged in their ways of thinking by living in Ireland. I think that a superiority of the Scotch-Irish over the Scotch was acquired by their presence among the Irish. And it would be easy to believe that they acquired additional good qualities by coming to America."

Dr. REUBEN A. GUILD: "Mr. GREEN's excellent paper on our Scotch-Irish immigrants, and his statement that they have always been on the side of popular education and religious liberty, reminds me that the first funds for the endowment of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, were procured from among the Protestant Churches of Ireland. The first movement for the founding of the College is attributed to the Rev. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, a distinguished Welsh clergyman, who came to this country in the year 1760. He had been pastor for seven years of a Baptist Church in Cork, where he married his wife. In 1767 he was appointed to solicit funds for the 'Infant College' in England and Ireland. Naturally he went first to Cork, the place of his early labors, and then to Waterford and Dublin. The bulk of his subscriptions in Ireland were obtained in the northern parts,—in Belfast, Lisburn, Antrim, Coleraine, Londonderry and Newry. The sum which Mr. Edwards eventually obtained was nearly a thousand pounds sterling, a large sum of money for those early days. The original subscription book with

genuine signatures is preserved in the archives of the College library."

Dr. EDWARD E. HALE: "I think Mr. GREEN is the proper person to pay compliments to the Puritan and to the Scotch-Irish. I do not know whether they claim Columbus as a Scotch-Irishman or not, but they claim pretty much everybody and everything. Among other things, we have always rather boasted here that we have the best and earliest illustration of the social compact down in Provincetown, but these gentlemen have proved that we have nothing to do with it, because we were subjects of King James, and said we were. When they organized the State of Tennessee, they did not say they were anybody's subjects, except the good God's, and they therefore claim that theirs is the earliest social compact in the world. I hope that sometime Mr. GREEN will have the kindness to read us a paper on the earliest social compact."

Professor J. FRANKLIN JAMESON: "I have no criticism to make upon anything Mr. GREEN said, but I should like to make a comment on the quotation from the work of Mr. Douglas Campbell, which may throw some light on the matter of the subsequent discussion. Mr. Campbell says, speaking of the Presidents of the United States, that there were so many Irish, so many Scotch, one Welsh, etc. He speaks of Monroe as Scotch and Jefferson as Welsh. It seems to me that Mr. Campbell has fallen into a not uncommon fallacy in speaking of those races not English which have had a good deal to do in forming the United States. Take Monroe. The name is Scotch and it is likely, though I think it has never been proved, that the President's first ancestor in this country of the name of Monroe was a Scotchman. But this does not make James Monroe a Scot. It may be proved that the first Jefferson ancestor in America of Mr. Jefferson was a Welshman, but that would make his blood Welsh to the extent of but one part in sixteen or in thirty-two, and we know that a considerable

portion of the other sixteenths and thirty-seconds was English. Even if it be proved that the Scotch did not mingle with the Irish, and that the Scotch blood was kept pure in the north of Ireland, nevertheless the law mentioned by President Hall would apply to the intermixture of Scotch and Irish in America. Those who bear the Scotch-Irish names like to be thought to descend from the Scotch rather than from the Irish, but I doubt whether it is so true as is commonly supposed. I have been interested in one little indication derived from Pennsylvania. Charles Biddle, vice-president of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, says in his autobiography, speaking of the activity of the Irish in Pennsylvania politics, that in the western part of the State (the region we call Scotch-Irish) the politicians were almost altogether Irish, so completely so that if a man was not an Irishman and wished to engage in politics he came to speak with an Irish brogue, either unconsciously or as a means of ingratiation. Now the instances that he quoted are Irish in dialect and not Scotch."

Senator GEORGE F. HOAR: "Is there any trace among the Scotch-Irish of our Revolutionary time of a single Scotch-Irish Roman Catholic? If they went to Ireland and married Catholic women, the woman would prevail in the religious quality of the family."

Professor JAMESON: "It seems to me strange that they should have been there two or three generations without something of a mixture, yet you do not find them Catholic. But you do find among them O'Neills, of Celtic name."

On motion, it was voted to adopt the Report of the Council and refer it to the Committee of Publication.

The RECORDING SECRETARY read the names of the following gentlemen, proposed for membership by the Council:—

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, of Worcester.
LEWIS HENRY BOUTELL, of Evanston, Ill.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL, of Boston.

CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, of Philadelphia, Pa.

Separate ballots being taken, all were duly elected.

A paper was then read by Mr. REUBEN G. THWAITES on "The Story of Chequamegon Bay."

Certain notes on the theological work of the late Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis were then presented by Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE.

The PRESIDENT: "I desire to say in regard to the loss to the Society of Dr. Ellis, that not only in his life by his attendance and interest in the purposes of the Society did he show his interest, but I find in his testament a notice regarding us and a benefaction in the shape of a donation which informally I would like to bring to the attention of the Society—not to take action, for that will come later. For the information of the Society, I would like to read a paragraph in his will dated October 15, 1887, in which he refers to the Society in the following terms: —

"'8. I give and bequeath in trust to the American Antiquarian Society, of which for many years I have been a grateful member, the sum of ten thousand dollars, to constitute a fund the annual income only of which shall be used for any object of the Society and approved by it on the recommendation of the Council of said Society.'

"Most of the members present whose term of service in the Society has dated back a decade and longer, will remember the constant attendance of our associate, Dr. Ellis, his frequent contributions, and his suggestions, which are better known to the officers perhaps than to the members of the Society. Better than his bequest to the Society was the fostering care which he ever manifested in the past. I think an appreciation of the notice and of this statement might well be recognized by the Society rising." The members of the Society all rose.

A paper was read by Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS on "The Law of Adultery and Ignominious Punishments."

A paper on "The Food of Certain American Indians and their Methods of Preparing it," by Mr. LUCIEN CARR, was read, in his absence, by Mr. ROCKWOOD HOAR.

A communication from Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON, on Palenque, was read by the PRESIDENT.

A circular with reference to the Peary Expedition to Baffin's Bay was presented by Dr. HALE, who said: "This seems to offer the only hope that there is of getting in touch with the original Norse settlement of Greenland. Dr. Cook found two years ago at the head of a fjord remains of Norse occupation, and those remains are still unexplored. On an island at the mouth, he found wheat growing, which can hardly be accounted for except by introduction from the Greenland settlement. There is one stone-age village left not contaminated yet by hoop-iron. I am glad to see that you feel like going to explore it."

A vote of thanks was passed to the persons who had read papers and who had spoken, and the papers and remarks were referred to the Committee of Publication.

At 1.45 the Society adjourned to a collation at the Parker House, to which they were invited by Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN in the name of the members living in Boston and its neighborhood.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THERE is little for the Council to mention in the history of the Society during the last six months that is not contained in the reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, which form a part of its report, excepting to present notices of deceased members, and offer the usual historical study.

It may be well, however, to call attention to the fact that a new iron stack has been placed in the lower hall of the building of the Society, and to state that that is the room which the late Mr. Salisbury thought might sometime be occupied by a public library for the city of Worcester.

It is an interesting commentary on the growth of that city, and on the increased importance of this institution, that the libraries of the two corporations have each of them 100,000 volumes, and that while the American Antiquarian Society will soon be pressed for room in which to store its books and manuscripts, the Free Public Library has none too much room for carrying on its work in the extensive and commodious pile of buildings put up for its accommodation by the municipality which it serves.

It is said that death loves a shining mark. The first of our number to die after the last meeting was Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. In the order of election he was our oldest member and had always been a warm friend of the Society. Most of the gentlemen present to-day recall the touching scene four years ago when Mr. Winthrop attended the semi-annual meeting of the Society in this place and, although suffering, as he said, from "an avalanche of infirmities," reminded us forcibly of his eloquent utterances of earlier years, when he spoke of his pleasant experiences as a young man when he used to sit at the table of his

father, our second president, by the side of distinguished members of this Society, now deceased, who were being entertained at dinner by their host on the occasions of the meetings in Boston. We thought then that Mr. Winthrop had probably made his last appearance in public, but only a year ago he again quietly entered this room at our semi-annual meeting and remained here a few minutes to show his interest in our proceedings and his love for the Society. By Mr. Winthrop's death Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D. became our senior member, but he, too, soon passed away, and we miss to-day a member of the Society who was almost always present at our meetings, and who enlivened and dignified them by his presence. Dr. Ellis, as is well known, was a member of the Council.

Somewhat later the Council lost another of its members by the death of Judge P. Emory Aldrich, one of the warmest friends of the Society, and one of the most constant and useful attendants at its meetings.

A pamphlet will soon be issued to record in permanent form the action of the Council on the death of these valued members.

We have recently learned of the death of our foreign member, William Noel Sainsbury, of the Public Record Office, London, who sent to us an interesting paper which was read at our meeting two years ago. Mr. Sainsbury's aid in consulting the documents in the Public Record Office was highly appreciated by Sparks and Bancroft, by Deane and Salisbury and other members of this Society now deceased; and his loss is keenly felt by Hale, Winsor, Hoar and other living members who had learned to appreciate his readiness to assist in making researches and his fulness and delicate accuracy of knowledge.

To the list of the dead must be added the names of another foreign member, Señor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, of Mexico, and a domestic member, the highly respected George Olcott, of Charlestown, New Hampshire.

An obituary notice of Mr. Winthrop, by Charles C. Smith; of Judge Aldrich, by Frank P. Goulding; of Señor Icazbalceta, and of George Olcott, by President Salisbury, follow this report, and also a fitting notice of the life and services of Mr. Sainsbury, contributed by Hubert Hall, F. S. A., of London, England.

Robert Charles Winthrop was born in Boston, May 12, 1809, and died in that city, November 16, 1894. He was descended from an honored ancestry, in every generation closely associated with the growth and progress of Massachusetts or Connecticut. The first who bore the name on this side of the Atlantic was John Winthrop, who brought over the colony charter in 1630, and first united in one person the hitherto distinct offices of Governor of the Massachusetts Company and Governor of the colony established here. The eldest son of the Massachusetts Governor, John Winthrop, Jr., was one of the first settlers at Ipswich in this State, and for many years Governor of Connecticut, to which colony he rendered services scarcely inferior to those which the father rendered to Massachusetts. In the next generation, the eldest son of John Winthrop, Jr., Fitz-John Winthrop, a distinguished military officer, and for nine years Governor of Connecticut, died without male issue; but the second son, Wait Winthrop, who passed most of his life in Massachusetts, where he was both a major-general and a judge, and held other important offices, left a son, the fourth John Winthrop, commonly known by his designation as a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was a man of ability and great tenacity of purpose, and many years of his life were spent in England in the prosecution of an appeal to the King in Council, which involved the interpretation of the charter of Connecticut procured by his grandfather. His eldest surviving son, John Still Winthrop, who died in June, 1776, at the age of fifty-six, lived some time in England, some time in Connecticut, and

some time in Massachusetts; but he did not take any prominent part in public affairs. John Still Winthrop's fifth son was Thomas Lindall Winthrop, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts from 1826 to 1833, President of this Society from 1831 till his death in 1841, and also President of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1835 to 1841. He married Elizabeth Temple, a granddaughter of James Bowdoin, an eminent statesman of the Revolutionary period and sometime Governor of Massachusetts. Bowdoin's public services were commemorated by his great-grandson, the subject of this notice, in an address at Bowdoin College, which was named for him. Robert Charles Winthrop was the youngest and for many years the sole surviving son of Thomas L. Winthrop.

He entered the Boston Latin School, then under the charge of the late Benjamin A. Gould, in 1821. Among the other boys who entered the school in that year, and who best fulfilled their early promise, were Charles Sumner, James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing; but it is a noteworthy circumstance that neither of these three was Winthrop's classmate at Cambridge. Of the two young men who shared with him the highest honors at Harvard College, Charles C. Emerson entered the Latin School in 1817, and George S. Hillard in 1822. Both at the Latin School, where he received a Franklin medal, and at the University, where he acquired not less distinction, young Winthrop gave the promise which found realization in later years. When he graduated at Cambridge, in 1828, the subject of his oration was "Liberal Principles as affecting the Strength of Government." It was pronounced by competent judges the best of the Commencement parts. While in college he showed a marked fondness for music, which he ever afterward retained; and he was a prominent performer in the college orchestra. In the rivalry for college honors between him and Hillard, Winthrop was more distinguished in the classics, and Hillard in mathematics.

After graduating, Mr. Winthrop was a law student for three years in the office of Daniel Webster; and in 1831, he was admitted to the bar. But apparently the law had few attractions for him, and at the age of twenty-six he became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, as one of the representatives from Boston. Here he soon and easily won a conspicuous position; and in 1837, he was raised to the Speakership. This office he filled for three years, with a grace and dignity which afterward made his Speakership at Washington one of the most brilliant in the annals of Congress, and which he elsewhere exhibited in later years on many occasions.

In 1840, he was elected as the Representative of Boston in the House of Representatives at Washington, and this position he continued to hold for five successive terms. In 1847, he was chosen Speaker; but in 1849, he failed of a re-election, owing to the existence at that time of three parties in the House. The contest lasted for several weeks; and it was only after the majority-rule had been suspended that the struggle was terminated by the election of his principal competitor, Howell Cobb, who had a plurality of two. In the debates in the House of Representatives, Mr. Winthrop took an active part; and in his collected addresses and speeches are twenty speeches delivered by him while a member of the House. It was while Speaker that he gave the brilliant address on laying the corner-stone of the Washington Monument in 1848, to which his not less brilliant address on the completion of the monument in 1885, was the fitting complement.

In July, 1850, he was appointed to fill the vacancy in the Senate occasioned by Mr. Webster's transfer to the office of Secretary of State. It was a position of great difficulty; for Mr. Winthrop did not sympathize with the policy to which Mr. Webster was committed, and he was not prepared to separate from the great political party to which both belonged. A middle course was hard, almost

impossible, to follow; but in the bitter and protracted contest which ensued when the Massachusetts Legislature met in January, 1851, Mr. Winthrop had the loyal support of all his old associates who were not ready to join in the formation of a new party. The coalition between the other two parties, the Democrats and the Free Soilers, could not be broken or sensibly weakened; and after repeated ballots, extending over more than three months, Mr. Winthrop was finally defeated. On the 24th of April, the House of Representatives concurred with the Senate in the election of Mr. Sumner as senator, by the exact number of votes necessary for a choice.

In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Winthrop was the Whig candidate for Governor, receiving upward of sixty-four thousand votes out of a total of a little more than one hundred and thirty-seven thousand. There were three candidates in the field, and Mr. Winthrop led his chief competitor by more than twenty thousand votes. But at that time under the laws of Massachusetts, a majority of all the votes cast was needed for an election, and there was no choice by the people. Mr. Boutwell was re-elected by the Legislature. Only twice afterward was Mr. Winthrop a candidate for any political office. In the Presidential contest of 1852, he was placed at the head of the Whig electoral ticket; and that ticket having received a considerably larger number of votes than were given for either of the other tickets, he was made President of the Electoral College, and helped to cast the vote of Massachusetts for General Scott. Twelve years later, in the Presidential contest of 1864, his name was placed first on the ticket nominated by the supporters of General McClellan, whose election he strongly advocated. A speech at New London, Conn., in October of that year, was the last of his political addresses.

After the overwhelming defeat of the McClellan ticket, Mr. Winthrop did not again participate in any party action,

and when he became head of the Peabody Education Fund in 1867, he withdrew wholly from political life, though he never lost interest in the broader relations of public affairs. He had felt the desertion of his early political friends keenly; but he was not a man to cherish animosities, and the wounds inflicted were healed before many years had passed. So long as the Whig party continued to exist he adhered to its fortunes. When that party was virtually dissolved, overtures were made to him to join other political organizations, which he declined and maintained to the last the position of an independent voter. On questions connected with the revenue and the currency he was in substantial accord with the Republican party, but on questions of a sectional character his sympathies were warmly with the Democrats.

When Mr. Winthrop's brief term in the Senate closed, he was not much over forty-one; but he did not fall into a life of elegant idleness, and his later years were not less useful or less honorable than those which had preceded them. He sought in what Milton calls "the still and quiet air of delightful studies" compensation for the frets and disappointments of a career which failed to satisfy. He had been elected a member of this Society in October, 1838, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society in October, 1839. At his death, his name stood first on the roll of each Society. In August, 1849, he was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In each of these organizations he was, until his death, an honored and valued associate. But it is with the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which he was President for thirty years, that his name is most closely connected. In the work of that Society he found during the later years of his life the chief field for his intellectual activity. As President, or as member of successive publishing committees, he made numerous contributions to its Proceedings and Collections; and among the most important of the

volumes published by it in recent years are those drawn from family papers furnished by him.

He was also for more than twenty-five years President and an active member of the Boston Provident Association; for three years, Chairman of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston; President of the Massachusetts Bible Society from 1878 to his death; for ten years, President of the Children's Hospital, in Boston; and from its inception to his death, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, which he watched over with unwearied attention.

In his theological opinions, he was an Episcopalian of the liberal school; and for sixty years, he was an officer of Trinity Church, Boston, and for a quarter of a century, one of the Trustees of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge. A remarkable passage in his address at Plymouth in 1870, shows, however, that he was wholly free from all sectarian exclusiveness and bigotry.

In 1852, he published a volume of "Addresses and Speeches," which was followed in 1867, by a second volume; in 1879, by a third volume; and in 1886, by a fourth volume. These four volumes cover a period of more than fifty years, during which Mr. Winthrop was a public speaker, always welcome to any audience which he might address. Many of these addresses were separately printed at the time of their delivery; and taken together they form a collection of permanent historical interest and value. Among them are, the address on laying the corner-stone of the monument to Washington, in the city which bears his name (1848); the eulogy on James Bowdoin, already referred to (1849); a lecture on Archimedes and Franklin, before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association (1853), which first suggested the erection of the statue of Franklin now in front of the City Hall, Boston; the address at the inauguration of this statue (1856); an introductory lecture on Massachusetts and its Early History,

in the course of Lowell Lectures, delivered by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1869); the address at Plymouth, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims (1870); an address at the dedication of the Brookline Town Hall (1873); the oration in Boston on the centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence (1876); the address before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1880); an address at the dedication of the statue of Prescott, on Bunker Hill, and an address at Yorktown, on the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis (1881); and the address on the completion of the Washington monument (1885).

In 1864, he published the first volume of his "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," bringing the narrative down to the embarkation of Winthrop and his company for Massachusetts. This volume was received with much favor by historical scholars, and was followed in 1867 by a second volume, completing the work. In the preparation of these volumes, Mr. Winthrop had the signal advantage of using for the first time an immense mass of unpublished papers which had remained in the custody of another branch of the family, living in Connecticut, and which had recently come into his possession. Among them were the original letters and documents which furnished the authority for many of the statements in Winthrop's Journal. In the year of his death, Mr. Winthrop printed, for private distribution, a delightful volume of "Reminiscences of Foreign Travel."

Mr. Winthrop received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Bowdoin College in 1849, from Kenyon College in 1851, and from Harvard University in 1855, and in one of his visits to Europe he received, in 1874, the same degree from the University of Cambridge, England. He was three times married. Two sons and a daughter survive.

It only remains to be added that Mr. Winthrop was well equipped for political life; his acquirements in various departments of knowledge were large; he was interested in

many measures and institutions for bettering the condition of the poor, the ignorant and the helpless; he was far-sighted in his plans for the organization and management of the great Peabody Trust; and he was always courteous and polished in the relations of private life; but it is as a consummate master of commemorative oratory that he will probably be longest remembered. He was the last of a group of men who carried the art of oratory to a degree of perfection which it had not previously reached in New England, or even in this country. He had a voice of great flexibility, which he managed skilfully; his manner was graceful and dignified; and in the special department to which his chief orations belong he had no superior. It was his fortune, after long intervals, to follow his great contemporaries, Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, with an address at Plymouth, on the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims; and among the best remembered of Rufus Choate's occasional addresses is his discourse before the New England Society in New York, in commemoration of the same event. It is not easy to determine to which of these great addresses belongs the first place in their department of American literature; but no one who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Winthrop on the 21st of December, 1870, or who now reads his address for the first time, will assign to it a secondary rank. It marks, indeed, the highest level of Mr. Winthrop's oratory. Scarcely inferior to it are the address which he delivered in Boston on the centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence and the address which he delivered at Yorktown on the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis. These three orations, so diverse in character, but each so adequate to the occasion, would be sufficient in themselves to give him an undisputed position of the first eminence as an orator, even if there were not a score of other addresses of rare eloquence and power. Fortunately for us they do not stand alone. The four volumes of his "Addresses and Speeches"

are a fitting memorial of what he was and of what he did; and so long as they shall continue to be read, his name will be held in honor. C. C. S.

Hon. Peleg Emory Aldrich died at his home in Worcester on March 14, 1895, in the eighty-second year of his age.

He was elected to membership in this Society in October, 1865.

Judge Aldrich was born in New Salem, Massachusetts, where he attended the public schools until he was sixteen years of age, and afterwards some terms in an academy, and then began teaching. While pursuing the vocation of teacher, he pushed his own studies on the lines usually followed in the *curricula* of the colleges at that time, and laid the foundation of a classical culture which finally became very extensive and accurate. He also began the study of law while still engaged in teaching, and in 1843 and 1844 was a member of the Harvard Law School, where he was graduated in the latter year with the degree of LL.B. He was admitted to the bar of Virginia in 1845, and to the Massachusetts bar in Hampden County in 1846; and began practice in Barre in this county in the same year, and continued there seven years, editing and publishing, a part of that time, the *Barre Patriot*. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1853, and in the same year was appointed District Attorney for the Middle District. He held this office nearly all the time until 1865, and it has never been filled with more conspicuous ability and fidelity. During all these years, after 1855, when he formed a partnership with the late Hon. Peter C. Bacon, he carried on a large and increasing civil practice. In 1873, he was appointed to the bench of the Superior Court, and actively and diligently performed the duties of that position to the last moment before his final brief illness.

As one of the original members of the State Board of Health, to which position he was appointed in 1870, Judge Aldrich took a special interest in the question of the use and legislative regulation of the sale of intoxicating liquors, and discussed the subject in one of the official reports of the board, with that thoroughness of historical research and scientific precision of statement and philosophic insight which characterized all his work.

He published a volume on "Equity Pleadings and Practice," in 1885, which took rank at once as authority upon the subjects it treats of. He held the office of mayor of Worcester in the year 1862, was a representative in the General Court in the years 1866 and 1867, and filled those positions with commanding ability and influence. The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by Amherst College in the year 1886. No attempt can be made here to enumerate, in detail, the various public and quasi public positions he held, nor to characterize the service he rendered in them. The principal work of his life was done at the bar and on the bench, and in that sphere he shone with conspicuous success and brilliancy. Quite early in his professional career, Judge Aldrich took rank among the leaders of a bar then ornamented by the presence of several gentlemen of great learning, intellectual power, and splendor of reputation; and his own standing steadily advanced until at the time of his appointment to the bench, he held, beyond a doubt, a place in the profession second to few, if any, in the Commonwealth.

It would not be accurate to say that Judge Aldrich, before his elevation to the bench, was eminent as a technical lawyer, or that he ever acquired special skill in handling the subtleties of black-letter reasoning. His field was at *nisi prius* trials, and there his triumphs were numerous and memorable. He made a profounder study of law, as a science, during his judicial career than ever before, and both at the bar and on the bench, he was especially dis-

tinguished for the clearness and force of his logical processes. He never surprised by the originality or brilliancy of his views, and even less did he attempt novelty in the method of treatment. His path was over the ancient ways, and he relied for his effects upon the force of pure reason. Wit and humor were no part of his equipment. Whatever ornament of style he adopted (and he did not disdain ornament), was severely restrained and subordinated to the purpose of making the expression more clear and the argument more forcible. Few men possessed in greater degree that power of statement which amounts, in itself, to the most convincing argument.

He was to the end of his life a diligent and tireless student, and he had little patience with any preparation of a cause that was short of completeness. His dislike of mere superficiality, and particularly of any conscious sham and pretence, was apt to show itself in a brusqueness and severity of manners, which, perhaps, were sometimes founded in mistake, and did, it may be, an unintentional injustice. The perfect integrity and uprightness of his intentions as a magistrate were never open to question, and he rarely failed to see, and never failed to administer as he saw, exact justice between the parties. Judge Aldrich, ordinarily, wore an exterior of singular dignity and authority, which forbade any unwarrantable familiarity, but his friendships were warm and constant, and those who were admitted to his closer intimacies are prompt to testify to the strength of his attachments and the depth and purity of his affections.

In 1850, Judge Aldrich was married to Miss Sarah Woods, of Barre, who, with their five children, survives him. F. P. G.

Señor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta was born in the city of Mexico, August 21, 1825. He was the youngest of ten children. His parents emigrated to Spain in 1829, and lived at Cadiz until 1836. Then they returned

to the Mexican Republic. Señor Icazbalceta was not connected with any of the higher schools after pursuing rudimentary studies; but learning several languages in his intervals of leisure from labor in his father's office, in the year 1846, he began to devote himself to the study of the history of Mexico. He added several chapters in an appendix to a correct and careful translation of Prescott's "Conquest of Peru" as his first essay as a writer. Soon after this, he became a contributor to *El Album Mexicano*, and also took part in the publication of *Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografia*. Mexico: 1852–1856. 10 vols., quarto. His contributions to this work were very numerous, and the subjects which he treated were among the most important of the work.

Señor Icazbalceta set about collecting a library formed principally of ancient manuscripts and documents relating to the history of America, which finally became one of the most complete and abundant that exist, and in 1858, he published two volumes, quarto, *Colecion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Of this work, he was collector and copyist, and of much of the contents he was the possessor of the original documents. From this time onward, he was continually publishing pamphlets and books containing documents hitherto unpublished, with full introductory commentaries, and from 1880 until his death, a list of his publications would prove that he was one of the largest contributors to American, and particularly to Mexican, history the world has known. He was a member of many learned societies, and was especially active in works of charity and mercy. As officer and manager, he gave much time to an annual statement of the condition and work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which attracted much attention in England. He died November 26, 1894, of heart disease, and the funeral ceremonies were observed with a notable attendance of officials, *litterateurs*, scientists and representatives of charitable organizations.

Mexico realized that in the death of Señor Icazbalceta she had suffered a national loss.

He was elected a member of this Society in April, 1881. S. S.

George Olcott was born at Charlestown, New Hampshire, July 11, 1838, and was the eldest son of George Olcott, Esq., and Emily Ann (Silsby) Olcott, both of Charlestown, and the grandson of Simeon Olcott, from whom that branch is descended. Simeon Olcott was born in Bolton, Connecticut, in 1735, and graduated from Yale College in 1761, coming to Charlestown in 1764. He was the first lawyer who settled there, and the first who opened an office west of the Merrimac River. Growing rapidly in the favor and esteem of the people he was advanced rapidly to public office. He was often moderator of town meetings and was on the board of selectmen for a number of years. He was three years a member of the assembly at Portsmouth, became Judge of Probate, then Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Trustee of Dartmouth College, afterwards Justice of the Superior Court, and United States Senator in 1801. His son George Olcott, the father of our associate, was born in 1785, graduated from Yale College, became a practising lawyer in Charlestown until the Connecticut River Bank was chartered in 1824, when he was made its first cashier, which office he held until his death in 1864. He did not care for public office but preferred to do his duty in a simple and unaffected manner as a private citizen. He was never willing to be called away for any length of time from his duties in his beloved bank. It was said by one who knew him well that "entire unselfishness was one of his most prominent characteristics." The qualities in the grandfather and father have been enumerated because they seem to account well by heredity for much that reappears in the character, culture, refinement and gentle manners of our departed friend.

Mr. George Olcott, our associate, was a man of fine presence, cultured and refined, with an inherited dignity and courteous grace that won for him friends and prominence, and he was for years greatly admired by the people of his town and State for his public spirit, his open-handed liberality and constant charities. After graduating from Norwich University in Vermont, he assisted his father in the Connecticut River Bank, and, in 1864, became cashier. He was also the Treasurer of the Cheshire Savings Bank. He served as bank officer for thirty-seven years and until his death. He also succeeded his father as town treasurer. He was fond of books and possessed a well selected library. He was an ardent freemason. In politics he was a staunch Republican, and was twice a Representative in the State Legislature.

He was one of the founders of St. Luke's parish (Episcopalian) in Charlestown, and served as warden, clerk and treasurer, and was its chief benefactor and most helpful worker. At the time of his death, Mr. Olcott had been treasurer of the Diocese of New Hampshire thirty-one years. He was deputy to the general convention, one of the trustees of the Diocese, a trustee of the Holderness school for boys, trustee and treasurer of the funds for the support of the Episcopate, and treasurer of the fund for the Bishop's house. No one in his community could be more trusted.

A tribute to his character occurs in an occasional sermon by Rev. T. W. Howard, pastor of the Unitarian Church in Charlestown. Speaking of two elegant volumes of the history of Charlestown, which Mr. Olcott had compiled, enlarged in quarto size, illustrated and extended, he writes "I was impressed, as I turned the leaves, with the love of the past which animated the painstaking of the collector of this material; a past, beautiful to him because its name was the town which was the centre of his affections. It was, evidently, to him a pious work in which he was engaged, to

preserve in form as beautiful and permanent as he could compass, the memorials of former times. Symbol and evidence are these volumes of the yearning intensity of the compiler, supported by a controlling sense of duty. He lived not for himself. Those who in coming generations should seek knowledge of the past, he would provide with carefully garnered and richly illustrated information. He loved the past and he lived beneficently in the present."

Mr. George Olcott was elected a member of this Society April 29, 1891, and his death occurred at Charlestown, N. H., April 10, 1895. Upon the day of his funeral, business was generally suspended, and for two hours the townspeople and friends from a distance passed silently to take a last look of him who in life had been to them an inspiration and a support. S. S.

William Noel Sainsbury died on the 9th of March last at his residence, 151 Sutherland Avenue, Maida Vale, London, in his seventieth year.

Mr. Sainsbury was born at 35 Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, on the 7th of July, 1825. He was the third son of John and Mary Ann Sainsbury. On April 1st, 1848, young Sainsbury began his long career in the public service by accepting a nomination to the State Paper Office as extra temporary clerk. This position he resigned upon his appointment as an extra clerk on November 28th of the same year, and he was still serving in this capacity at the date of the amalgamation of the State Paper Office with the new Public Record Office in the year 1854.

In those days promotion came slowly for the staff, and Mr. Sainsbury did not reach the grade of a senior clerk until August, 1862. Then came another "block" and it was only in November, 1887, that he became an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. In December, 1891, Mr. Sainsbury retired after a public service of more than forty years, but although his official connection with the Record

Department had ceased, he continued to edit the great Calendar of Colonial State Papers with which his name will ever be associated. In spite of failing health, he was usually to be found at his desk in a pleasant room overlooking the great Repository in Fetter Lane, surrounded with printed works of reference and with piles of the State Papers which he used and guarded with a care and reverence that were truly exemplary. Indeed there was nothing that distressed and angered him so much as to see the evidence of careless handling on the covers or margins of these priceless records. During these last years, Mr. Sainsbury had the advantage of the assistance of his daughter, Miss Ethel Sainsbury.

All who have carefully studied the series of Calendars of Colonial State Papers and especially those who have had the benefit of Mr. Sainsbury's personal assistance and advice in their researches, will easily understand the force of his saying, addressed to the members of the American Antiquarian Society in a paper presented by him at Boston little more than two years ago, "I have made a lifelong study of these Colonial Records" and "there is scarcely a writer of history in your Great Republic, whom, during the past forty years, I have not had the honor of assisting in a greater or less degree." Mr. Sainsbury always expressed the greatest admiration and respect for the historical work of the greatest of American historians, and he was justly proud of the task that was entrusted to him by Mr. Bancroft in the early days of his services at the State Paper Office, a task which was nothing less than the collection of all the evidences relating to the history of the American Colonies that were contained in the State Papers of the old Board of Trade. But, besides his association with the work of individual historians, from first to last, Mr. Sainsbury showed the deepest interest in the useful labors of the admirable Historical Societies which had sprung up, or at least had been largely developed during

the period of his own literary activity. The perpetuation of the original materials for the history of the primitive Colonies by the Governments of the modern States, was a work which he was never weary of advocating and encouraging: just as he was never weary of praising the Documentary Histories of New York, North Carolina, and other State publications as monuments of patient research and of sound scholarship. During the last two years of his life, he was actively engaged in superintending the transcription of the historical papers relating more especially to South Carolina, with whose flourishing Historical Society, and with the government of its neighbor State, he had for a long time past been in constant correspondence.

Naturally Mr. Sainsbury's name was frequently and gratefully mentioned in most modern works of research connected with the history of America and the West Indies. He was also an Honorary or Corresponding Member of most of the principal Historical Societies of the New World, and as long ago as 1867 he was elected a Foreign Member of the American Antiquarian Society.

The wide reputation which he thus enjoyed was not merely derived from his exceptional position as a custodian of the State Papers and as an official expert in their arrangement and contents, but mainly from the sound and scholarly work accomplished by himself as the editor of the Colonial Calendar in the Rolls Series. The first volume of this Calendar made its appearance in 1860. It was followed in 1862 by the first volume of the Calendar of Papers relating to the East Indies, China and Japan, which included, through the coöperation of the India Office, the "Court Books" of the old East India Company. Henceforth the Colonial Calendars were usually issued in alternate volumes, nine of which have been published to the present date.

In addition to the Colonial Calendar, Mr. Sainsbury published several valuable papers on Colonial history,

together with an historical narrative, published in 1870, based on the history of the West Indies, under the title of "Hearts of Oak." He was also the author of a life of Peter Paul Rubens, published in 1858, which still ranks as one of the best authorities on the subject.

Mr. Sainsbury was twice married: in 1849, to Emily Storrs, second daughter of Mr. Andrew Moore, by whom he had two sons and eight daughters, of whom all but three survive him. He married a second time in 1873, Henrietta Victoria, youngest daughter of Mr. John Hawkins, and widow of Mr. Alfred Crusher Anger, whom he survived several years.

It will be easily believed that Mr. Sainsbury was universally liked and respected by his friends and colleagues. He was, indeed, like most officials of the old school, punctilious and unbending in his adherence to official forms, but he could well recall the time when a Cabinet Minister was not permitted to examine State Papers relating to his own department without the authority of the Secretary of State. Yet his unfailing courtesy, and his unwearied zeal in the best interests of historical research will always endear his memory to all with whom he was brought in contact, and to all who still have those interests at heart. H. H.

In behalf of the Council,

SAMUEL S. GREEN.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IN AMERICA.[1]

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

A TRIBUTE is due from the Puritan to the Scotch-Irishman,[2] and it is becoming in this Society, which has its headquarters in the heart of New England, to render that tribute.

The story of the Scotsmen who swarmed across the narrow body of water which separates Scotland from Ireland, in the seventeenth century, and who came to America in the eighteenth century, in large numbers, is of perennial interest. For hundreds of years before the beginning of the seventeenth century the Scot had been going forth continually over Europe in search of adventure and gain. As a rule, says one who knows him well, "he turned his steps where fighting was to be had, and the pay for killing was reasonably good."[3] The English wars had made his countrymen poor, but they had also made them a nation of soldiers.

Remember the "Scotch Archers" and the "Scotch Guardsmen" of France, and the delightful story of Quentin Durward, by Sir Walter Scott. Call to mind the "Scots Brigade," which dealt such hard blows in the contest in Holland with the splendid Spanish infantry which Parma and Spinola led, and recall the pikemen of the great Gustavus. The Scots were in the vanguard of many a

[1] For acknowledgments regarding the sources of information contained in this paper, not made in footnotes, read the Bibliographical note at its end.

[2] The Scotch-Irish, as I understand the meaning of the term, are Scotchmen who emigrated to Ireland and such descendants of these emigrants as had not through intermarriage with the Irish proper, or others, lost their Scotch characteristics. Both emigrants and their descendants, if they remained long in Ireland, experienced certain changes, apart from those which are brought about by mixture of blood, through the influence of new surroundings.

[3] Harrison, John. The Scot in Ulster, p. 1.

European host. Their activity showed itself in trade also. "In the Hanse towns and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean every busy centre and trading town knows the canny Scot."[1]

The adventurous spirit of the Scotsman had hitherto shown itself in war and in trade; it is now to show itself in colonization. Our interest to-day is in the colonies which Scotchmen established in the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and in the great emigration from those colonies to America in the eighteenth century. Large tracts of land in Ulster had been laid waste, and James the First of England formed plans for peopling them with colonies of Englishmen and Scotchmen. Hugh Montgomery, the laird of Braidstane, afterwards Lord Montgomery of the Ards, and James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Clandeboye (a title now borne by his descendant, the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, formerly Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India, who as an Irish baron is Lord Dufferin and Clandeboye), led colonies into the northern portion of County Down in 1606. About the same time plantations, which afterwards became peculiarly Scottish, were made in Antrim. Then followed what is known as the "Great plantation," in 1610. Read Scott's Fortunes of Nigel, it has been said, and "you see the poverty of the old land north of the Tweed, and the neediness of the flock of supplicants who followed James to London." That neediness and the poverty of their land led Scotsmen to Ireland, also.

"The plantations in County Down and County Antrim, thorough as they were as far as they went, were limited in scope, in comparison with the 'Great plantation in Ulster' for which James I.'s reign will be forever remembered in Ireland."[2]

Early in the seventeenth century "all northern Ireland,

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[1] J. S. MacIntosh in The Making of the Ulsterman, Second Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 89.

[2] Harrison, p. 34.

—Londonderry, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Armagh, and Fermanagh,—passed at one fell swoop into the hands of the crown."[1] These lands James proceeded to people with Englishmen and Scotchmen, as he had before planted Scottish and English colonies in Down and Antrim. Sir William Petty states, "that a very large emigration had taken place from Scotland after Cromwell settled the country in 1652."[2] "He takes the total population" of Ireland in 1672 "at 1,100,000, and calculates that 800,000 were Irish, 200,000 English, and 100,000 Scots. Of course the English were scattered all over Ireland, the Scots concentrated in Ulster."[3] Lecky says that "for some years after the Revolution," meaning, of course, the English Revolution of 1688, "a steady stream of Scotch Presbyterians had poured into the country, attracted by the cheapness of the farms and by the new openings for trade."[4] The end of the seventeenth century probably saw the last of the large emigration of Scots into Ulster.

The quiet of the Scotch immigrants was disturbed by various events during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. War disturbed their quiet. The Irish rebellion of 1641 caused them much suffering. It "dragged its slow length along" for years, and "until Cromwell crossed in 1650, and in one dreadful campaign established the rule of the English Parliament."[5] The Revolution of 1688 was long and bloody, in Ireland. The sufferings of the Protestants in the north of Ireland who supported William the Third and opposed James the Second are well known,

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[1] Harrison, p. 36.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 84. See, too, Petty, Sir William. Political Survey of Ireland in 1672, pp. 9, 18, 20 (as quoted by Harrison).

[4] Lecky, W. E. H. Hist. of England in the 18th Century, Vol. II., p. 400. Amer. ed., p. 436. "In 1715 Archbishop Synge" (Synge's Letters, British Museum Add. MSS., 6, 117, p. 50) "estimated at not less than 50,000 the number of Scotch families who had settled in Ulster since the Revolution."—Lecky, p. 401. Am. ed., p. 436.

[5] Harrison, p. 79.

and Macaulay has rendered immortal the brave deeds of the defenders of Londonderry.[1]

The Scotch immigrants suffered from repression of trade and commerce. True, William III. encouraged the manufacture of linen and induced colonies of Huguenots who were driven out of France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to settle in northeast Ireland. "The first blow struck" in the repression of industries, "was an Act which forbade the exportation of cattle from Ireland to England;[2] the second, when by the fifteenth of Charles II., Ireland, which up to this time in commercial matters had been held as part of England, was brought under the Navigation Acts, and her ships treated as if belonging to foreigners."[3]

It was in the reign of William III. that the woollen manufacture in Ireland was suppressed in the interest of the English manufacturer, and legislation which brought about this suppression was followed by "Acts forbidding the Irish to export their wool to any country save England—the English manufacturers desiring to get the wool of the sister kingdom at their own price."[4]

The Scotch immigrants in Ireland were mostly Presbyterians. Under the mild ecclesiastical rule of Archbishop Usher they prospered. Later they were persecuted, and in 1704 the obnoxious Test Act was imposed by Queen Anne.

Throughout their stay in Ireland the Scotch immigrants, while they have intermarried with the Huguenots and Puritan English to a certain extent, have not intermarried with the Celtic Irish and have preserved their Scotch characteristics.[5]

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[1] Macaulay's History of England, Chap. XII.

[2] Leland's History of Ireland, Vol. III., p. 448.

[3] Harrison, p. 85. See, also, Macpherson's History of Commerce, Vol. III., p. 621, referred to by Harrison.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 88. Lecky, v. 2, pp. 210 and 211. Am. ed., pp. 229 and 230.

[5] "Most of the great evils of Irish politics during the last two centuries have arisen from the fact that its different classes and creeds have never been really blended into one nation, that the repulsion of race or of religion has been stronger than the attraction of a common nationality, and that the full energies

It is easy to see, after the recital of facts just given, why the Scotch settlers in Ulster became discontented, and large numbers of them emigrated to America in the eighteenth century. In addition to their sufferings from the repression of trade and commerce and from religious disabilities, agriculture was in a miserable condition, and at times when land leases expired, the settlers could only renew them by paying a largely increased rent.[1] The emigration to America was very striking. Some of the Scottish settlers went before 1700, and very early in the eighteenth century, but the great bulk of the emigrants came to this country at two distinct periods of time: the first, from 1718 to the middle of the century; the second, from 1771 to 1773; although there was a gentle current westward between these two eras. In consequence of the famine of 1740 and 1741, it is stated that for "several years afterwards, 12,000 emigrants annually left Ulster for the American plantations"; while from 1771 to 1773, "the whole emigration from Ulster is estimated at 30,000, of whom 10,000 are weavers."[2]

August 4, 1718, there arrived in Boston five small ships

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and intellect of the country have in consequence seldom or never been enlisted in a common cause."—Lecky, Vol. II., p. 405. Am. ed., pp. 440 and 441. Travellers tell us that to-day in sections of Ulster the population is Scotch and not Irish. Honorable Leonard A. Morrison of Canobie Lake, N. H., writes me, May 8, 1895, as follows: "I am one of Scotch-Irish blood and my ancestor came with Rev. McGregor of Londonderry" (N. H.), "and neither *they* nor any of their descendants were willing to be called 'merely Irish.' I have twice visited the parish of Aghadowey, Co. Londonderry, from which they came, in Ireland, and all that locality is filled, not with 'Irish' but with Scotch-Irish, and this is pure Scotch blood to-day, after more than 200 years." Mr. Morrison is the author of a history of the Scotch-Irish town of Windham, N. H., and of several other valuable and interesting books, most of them largely genealogical.

[1] "At the time of the Revolution, when great portions of the country lay waste and when the whole framework of society was shattered, much Irish land had been let on lease at very low rents to English, and especially to Scotch Protestants. About 1717 and 1718 these leases began to fall in. Rents were usually doubled, and often trebled . . . For nearly three-quarters of a century the drain of this energetic Protestant population continued."—Lecky, Vol. 2, p. 260. Amer. ed., pp. 283, 284.

[2] Harrison, pp. 90, 91. Reid, James. History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Ch. XXVI. Lecky, v. 2, p. 261. Am. ed., pp. 284 and 285. (Lecky refers to Killen's Ecclesiastical History, II., 261, 262.)

containing probably about seven hundred and fifty emigrants from the north of Ireland.[1] These were nearly all Scotch-Irish. Their arrival was not unexpected, for, before coming, they had sent over a messenger to Governor Shute and been encouraged to come. A portion of the emigrants had resolved to unite in forming a settlement, and to place themselves under the pastoral care of Rev. James MacGregor, a Presbyterian minister who came over with them. Sixteen or twenty families from among these, embarked in a brigantine and sailed east in search of a suitable site for a town, the remainder going for the present to Andover and Dracut. The party in the brigantine explored a considerable portion of the coast of Maine and, as cold weather came on, concluded to winter in Casco Bay at Falmouth, now Portland. They had a hard winter there and when spring came determined, with some exceptions, to seek a place of settlement with a milder and otherwise more agreeable climate. They sailed west, entered the Merrimack River and came to Haverhill. Here they heard of the town of Nutfield, now Londonderry, New Hampshire. Having examined the place, they determined to settle there. Here they were joined by the members of their party who had gone temporarily into the country, including Rev. Mr. MacGregor, and laid the foundations of a prosperous town. Londonderry grew rapidly, Scotch-Irishmen already in this country flocking to it, and emigrants of that race coming from the north of Ireland to New England generally choosing it as their place of settlement.

Another portion of the emigrants who came to Boston in 1718 went to Worcester, Massachusetts, to live. Professor Arthur L. Perry, of Williamstown, whose father was born in Worcester and whose family is one of the old families of the place, himself a descendant of one of the Scotch-Irish settlers in Worcester and an interested student of the quali-

[1] Perry, Arthur L. The Scotch-Irish in New England. In Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 109.

ties and career of that portion of the early inhabitants of the town, estimates that more than 200 Scotch-Irish people[1] went to Worcester in 1718; they probably outnumbering the population already there, who are represented as occupying fifty-eight log houses.[2]

At the time when these inhabitants went to Worcester, the people of that place were making a third attempt at settlement, they having been dispersed twice before by the Indians; and the town was not organized until September, 1722. It appears by the town records that some of the officers chosen in the earliest town meetings were Scotch-Irishmen. That element of the population was not popular, however, and although the government of the Province was glad to have this addition to the number of the inhabitants of a frontier town exposed to the depredations of Indians, and although the older occupants of the place may have looked with favor at first upon the coming of the Scotch-Irish, the newcomers soon came to be disliked and were treated with marked inhospitality. They were of a different race; there was an especial prejudice against the Irish which worked to their disadvantage, although they were in reality, most of them, Scotchmen, who had merely lived in Ireland. The habits of the foreigners were different from those of the older inhabitants. They differed also in the form of their religion, and although staunch Protestants the Congregationalists, who made up the earlier settlers, were not ready to tolerate the Presbyterianism of the newcomers.

The Scotch-Irish were treated so inhospitably in Worcester that, while a considerable number of them remained there, the larger portion went away, some to Coleraine, many to Pelham;[3] and, after the destruction of the church they were building, many others to Western (now Warren),

[1] Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 111, comp. with p. 110.

[2] Lincoln's History of Worcester, p. 46 (which gives the Proprietary Records as its authority).

[3] See, particularly for Pelham, Holland, J. G. History of Western Massachusetts.

Blandford and other towns where they could live more comfortably and enjoy a larger liberty. They introduced the potato, so generally known in this vicinity as the Irish potato, into Worcester[1] as well as into Andover, Massachusetts, and other towns and parts of the country where they settled. They are said to have made spinning fashionable in Boston.

Dr. Matthew Thornton, the distinguished New Hampshire statesman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was brought to this country by his father when only two or three years old. He received an "academical"[2] education in Worcester and after studying medicine settled down in Londonderry, New Hampshire, to practise his profession.[3] At the second annual town meeting in Worcester, held in March, 1724, James McClellan, the great-great-great Scotch-Irish grandfather of General George B. McClellan, was chosen a constable. Honorable George T. Bigelow, a former Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, through his grandmother, the wife of Colonel Timothy Bigelow, a revolutionary soldier of local reputation, was descended from one of the members of the Scotch-Irish colony in Worcester. Professor Perry has also announced the discovery that the great botanist

[1] According to tradition, the potato was introduced into Worcester by one of a few families of Celtic-Irish who accompanied the Scotch-Irish when they went to Worcester. Although the potato is indigenous in the southern portion of America and was carried from this continent to Europe in the 16th century, little or nothing seems to have been known about it in New England when the band of Scotch-Irish came to Boston in 1718. Some interesting stories are told by Lincoln in his History of Worcester (p. 49), and by Parker in his History of Londonderry, N. H. (p. 49), about the fears of early settlers of Worcester Massachusetts, that the potato was poisonous; and about ignorance of the character oft he vegetable, shown by settlers in Andover in their cooking the balls of the plant instead of the tubers. See, also, Lewis's History of Lynn, Massachusetts, "Annals," year 1718. The potato does not seem to have been generally used in Ireland until many years after 1718. Naturally the common potato, having been introduced by emigrants from Ireland, came to be quite generally denominated the Irish potato, to distinguish it from the sweet potato. That name is used to a considerable extent to-day.

[2] Parker's History of Londonderry, p. 248.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 247, 248.

Asa Gray was a great-great-grandson of the first Scotch-Irish Matthew Gray of Worcester.

There are in Worcester to-day two old houses which are believed to have been built and occupied by the early Scotch-Irish residents, Andrew McFarland and Robert Blair.

It is an interesting fact that Abraham Blair and William Caldwell, of Worcester, and several of the inhabitants of Londonderry, N. H., as survivors of the brave men who defended Londonderry, Ireland, in 1689, were, with their heirs, freed from taxation, by Act of Parliament, in British Provinces, and occupied what were here known until the Revolution as "exempt farms."

As has been related, a few of the Scotch-Irish emigrants who came to Boston in the vessels which arrived August 4, 1718, settled in Maine, a large portion went to Londonderry, N. H., and two hundred or so to Worcester. A considerable number, however, remained in Boston, and, uniting with those of their countrymen of their own faith already there, formed the religious society which was known as the Presbyterian Church in Long Lane—afterwards Federal Street. That Church became Congregational in 1786, and, on April 4, 1787, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the founder and one of its officers until his death, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was installed as its pastor. This is the same society which later had William Ellery Channing for its minister, and the successor to which is the Unitarian body which worships in the stone New England meeting-house on Arlington Street.

In 1719 and 1720 several hundred families of Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland were landed on the shores of the Kennebec River in Maine in accordance with arrangements made by an Irish gentleman, Robert Temple.[1] They

[1] Honorable Edward L. Pierce calls my attention to Winsor's Memorial History of Boston, Vol. 2, p. 540, where it is stated that our "Captain Robert Temple came over in 1717 with a number of Scotch-Irish emigrants."

were soon dispersed by Indians and a large portion of the settlers went to Pennsylvania, and considerable numbers to Londonderry and other places. Some remained in Maine, however. This immigration is of particular interest to members of this Society, for its conductor, Robert Temple, was the ancestor of our second president, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and his son, Robert Charles Winthrop, who has for so long a time taken a marked interest in our proceedings and whose loss is fresh in our memories to-day.

From 1629 to 1632 Colonel Dunbar was governor of Sagadahoc, a tract of land lying between the Kennebec and St. Croix rivers. He was a Scotch-Irishman, and made some of his countrymen large owners of land in the territory under him. They in turn introduced, in the course of two or three years, one hundred and fifty families into the territory. These were mostly Scotch-Irish, and came partly from older settlements in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and partly from Ireland. Numerous descendants of the settlers are to be found to-day in the territory which Dunbar governed, and others are scattered over the whole State of Maine.

Samuel Waldo, a member of a family well known in Boston and Worcester, was probably the last person to introduce a colony of the Scotch-Irish people into Maine prior to the Revolution. He owned large tracts of land between the Penobscot and St. George rivers. His first settlers, who went upon his lands in 1735, were Scotch-Irish, some recent immigrants, some who had been in the country since 1718. Their posterity are excellent citizens. Some of the persons wrecked in the "Grand Design" from the north of Ireland, on Mt. Desert, settled on Waldo's lands. In 1753, Samuel Waldo formed in Scotland a company of sixty adults and a number of children to settle on his possessions.

Our lamented Scotch-Irish associate, Governor Charles H. Bell, of Exeter, N. H., in the address which he made

at the 150th anniversary of the settlement of old Nutfield (Londonderry), June 10, 1869, calls attention to the fact of "the prodigious increase in numbers which the descendants of the early Londonderry stock have attained, in the four or five generations which have passed away since the colony, of such slender proportions, was formed." "It is estimated," he said, "by persons best qualified to pronounce upon the subject, that the aggregate, in every section, would now fall little short of 50,000 souls."[1]

Certain it is that a large portion of the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine, and a considerable portion of those in Massachusetts, as well as many persons in Vermont, Rhode Island and Connecticut have had Scotch-Irish ancestors. When this people has settled in some part of our country it has sent out colonies. Parker, the historian of Londonderry, says that "during the period of twenty-five years preceding the Revolution, ten distinct settlements were made by emigrants from Londonderry, all of which have become towns of influence and importance in the State."[2]

In the first third of the seventeenth century Sir William Alexander, a favorite of James the First, tried to found a new Scotland in America. The only existing memorial of that attempt is the name of Nova Scotia.[3] A more successful effort was made after the forced evacuation of the French from that province in 1755. About the year 1760, a party of Scotch-Irishmen, many of them from Londonderry, N. H., started a permanent settlement at Truro. Among the settlers from Londonderry were several Archibalds, members of a family which has held a distinguished place in the public life of Nova Scotia.[4] Among the pio-

[1] The Londonderry Celebration, p. 16.

[2] Parker, Edward L. The History of Londonderry, p. 99.

[3] For an account of the work done in America under the auspices of Sir William Alexander, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, for the year 1892, Vol. X., Section 2, pp. 79-107.

[4] Parker's Londonderry, p. 200.

neers was Captain William Blair also, a son of Colonel Robert Blair, of Worcester, Massachusetts, and grandson of Colonel Robert Blair, one of the defenders of Londonderry, Ireland.[1] Other Scotch-Irish settlers followed, and their descendants became numerous, and peopled neighboring towns.

October 9, 1761, Colonel Alexander McNutt, an agent of the British government, arrived in Halifax with more than 300 settlers from the north of Ireland. In the following spring some of these went to Londonderry, Onslow, and Truro.[2] September 15, 1773, the "Hector," the first emigrant ship from Scotland to come to Nova Scotia, arrived in the harbor of Pictou. The pioneers who came in that vessel formed the beginning of a stream of emigrants from Scotland which flowed over the county of Pictou, the eastern portions of the province, Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, portions of New Brunswick and even the upper provinces.[3] A large portion of these emigrants, however, came from the Highlands of Scotland, and, although they formed a valuable part of the population of Nova Scotia and other provinces, were of a somewhat different blood from the Lowland Scotch and their matured countrymen, the Scotch-Irish.

A very considerable portion of the people of Canada are of the Scotch-Irish race. There are in every province, it is said, centres almost entirely settled by people of that extraction. That is the case with Colchester County in Nova Scotia, in which Truro, of which I have spoken, is situated. It is so with Simcoe County in Ontario. Rev. Stuart Acheson, who was a settled pastor in the last named county for ten years, states that in his "First Essa Church"[4] all the families but one were Scotch-Irish. New Brunswick

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[1] Miller, Thomas. Historical and Genealogical Record of the first settlers of Colchester County, etc., p. 167.

[2] Miller, p. 15.

[3] Patterson, George. History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia, p. 82.

[4] 3d Scotch-Irish Cong., p. 210.

has her share of this race. It should be added, that the Counties in the Dominion of Canada in which this people have lived have been leaders in civilization.

There is an incident in Canadian history in which two distinguished Scotch-Irishmen figured conspicuously. Sir Guy Carleton, whom we remember in the United States as the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army at the close of the Revolution, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec in 1767, and while holding that office earned for himself the title of Saviour of Canada. He was born at Strabane, in the County of Tyrone, in Ireland. Richard Montgomery, his companion in arms at the siege of Quebec when it was taken by Wolfe, was born not more than seven miles away, at Conroy.[1] These two Scotch-Irishmen, fel-

[1] This statement and several particulars of the incidents in the lives of Carleton and Montgomery given immediately after were taken from a paper entitled The Scotch-Irish in Canada, by Rev. Stuart Acheson, M.A., of Toronto, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., pp. 195–212. John Armstrong, the writer of the life of Richard Montgomery in The Library of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks, states that Richard and his two brothers were sons of Thomas Montgomery of Conroy House. The father does not seem to have owned that place, however; it came to his son Alexander from his cousin. (See Burke's Landed Gentry [1886], Vol. II., p. 1288.) The late Mr. Henry Manners Chichester states in the article "Montgomery, Richard," in Dictionary of National Biography, that the latter was born at Swords, near Feltrim, Co. Dublin. One cannot help wondering whether Mr. Acheson, if he has not merely followed Armstrong or some other biographer, has not confounded Richard Montgomery with his elder brother Alexander. The suspicion arises readily because cruel acts said to have been performed in Canada by Alexander Montgomery were ascribed to Richard (see Montcalm and Wolfe, by Francis Parkman, Vol. II., p. 261). Of course it is not impossible that the statement of Mr. Acheson, although it may not be strictly true, leaves a correct impression, for Richard Montgomery may have spent considerable portions of his younger days with his brother at Conroy. For Richard Montgomery see, as above, Montgomery of Beaulieu, Burke's Landed Gentry (1886), Vol. II., p. 1288. See, also, "Ancestry of General Richard Montgomery," by Thomas H. Montgomery, in the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record" (July, 1871), where, it is stated, his relationship to the ancestral Scottish family is traced. For Guy Carleton, see Burke's Peerage, under Lord Dorchester. It is very difficult to be perfectly accurate, with information now readily accessible, in respect to statements regarding the Scotch-Irish, and it is evident that men who came from the north of Ireland, or descendants from such persons, have been not infrequently claimed as of Scotch extraction, without sufficient investigation,

low-soldiers at first, became formidable foes later. In the latter part of the year 1775, General Montgomery, as is well known, led an army of the disaffected colonies into Canada. Guy Carleton was in command of the Canadian forces which opposed him. They were both brave and able men. Montgomery had the advantage at first; he took Montreal and other places, and succeeded in placing his army between Carleton's troops and Quebec. The latter general's position seemed desperate. But he was equal to the occasion. You have often heard the story of his action at this juncture of affairs. Disguised as a French Canadian peasant or as a fisherman, with a faithful aide-de-camp also disguised, he got into a little boat to go down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. He reached Three Rivers, and found it full of the enemy. He and his companion stayed long enough in the place to take some refreshments and then, unrecognized, continued their journey. Finally they overhauled two schooners flying the British flag, were taken aboard and carried to Quebec. Montgomery united with Benedict Arnold, who had made a futile attempt to take the citadel of Quebec, at Pointe aux Trembles and, together, they proceeded to make another attempt to take Quebec. They reached the Plains of Abraham, and demanded its surrender. Carleton declined to surrender. After battering the walls of the citadel for a short time ineffectually, Montgomery determined to storm the town. You recall the

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and when they had but little Scotch blood. Many of the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland were of Huguenot, Welsh, English, and other extractions. I have taken reasonable pains to be accurate, but cannot hope that I have been perfectly so. Two things are evident, however, namely, that very large numbers of emigrants from Ireland of Scotch blood came to this country in the 18th century, and that they exerted a great influence here for good, particularly in the Southern Middle and Southern Atlantic States. It may also be added, without disparagement of the good qualities of men of other extractions, that the powerful and beneficent influence which they exerted was largely the result of peculiarly Scottish characteristics. It is also not improbable that many persons without Scotch blood in their veins came from being trained in childhood and boyhood in Scotch communities, to have what we recognize as Scotch characteristics.

failure of the attempt, and the tragic end of Montgomery. As he and his men came under the fire of the enemy its cannon greeted them with a destructive discharge, and the brave general and many of his men were laid low in death.[1] After the battle Carleton sought out, amid the winter snow, the body of his fellow-countryman and neighbor, and, paying the tribute of one Scotch-Irishman to another Scotch-Irishman, had it buried with military honors.

In 1682, William Penn interested a number of prominent Scotchmen in a scheme for colonizing the eastern section of New Jersey. "These Scotchmen," says Douglas Campbell, "sent over a number of settlers who have largely given character to this sturdy little State, not the least of their achievements being the building-up, if not the nominal founding, of Princeton College, which has contributed so largely to the scholarship of America."[2]

While considerable numbers of the Scotch-Irish emigrated to New England in the great exodus from Ireland during the fifty or sixty years prior to the American Revolution, the great body of those coming here entered the continent by way of Philadelphia. Penn's Colony was more hospitable to immigrants of faiths differing from the prevalent belief of its inhabitants, than were most of the New England provinces.

Then, too, the Scotch-Irish emigrants were mostly farmers, and did not find New England so favorable from an agricultural point of view as some of the middle and southern colonies.

Immigrants came in such numbers to Philadelphia as to frighten James Logan, the Scotch-Irish[3] Quaker Governor

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[1] Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., p. 202. (Paper by Stuart Acheson.) The writer would seem to have been mistaken in supposing that Montgomery was killed by shot fired from the guns of Fort Diamond on the summit of the citadel.

[2] Baird, Rev. Robert, Religion in the United States of America, p. 154, as referred to by Campbell, Vol. II., p. 484.

[3] Professor George Macloskie in Scotch-Irish in America, Third Cong., p. 97.

of Pennsylvania from 1699 to 1749. He complains in 1725 that "it looks as if Ireland were to send all her inhabitants hither; if they will continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province."[1] The bold stream of settlers who came to Philadelphia, flowed westward and occupied considerable portions of the province of Pennsylvania.

It is said of Pittsburg that it is Scotch-Irish in "substantial origin, in complexion and history,—Scotch-Irish in the countenances of the living and the records of the dead."[2]

It is estimated that at the time of the Revolution one-third of the population of Pennsylvania was Scotch-Irish.

A large portion of the emigrants who came from the north of Ireland to Philadelphia, went south. This was especially the case after Braddock's defeat in 1755, made the Indians bold and aggressive in the west.

A very large portion of the people in the South Atlantic States are of Scotch-Irish extraction.

During many years of the eighteenth century a stream of emigrants flowed south, through Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and across the Savannah river, into Georgia. Their movements were parallel with the lines of the Blue Ridge.

In Maryland they settled, mainly, in the narrow slip of land in the western part of the State, although they were to be found scattered through all portions of the province.

In the latter part of the seventeenth and the earlier years of the eighteenth centuries there were many Scotch-Irish residents in Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge mountains; some were even settled west of that range. In 1738 began a movement which completely filled the valley

[1] Macloskie, in First Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 95. Professor Macloskie speaks of Logan as a Scotch-Irish Quaker who was "a native of County Armagh, Ireland."

[2] The Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania. John Dalzell, in Second Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 175.

west of the Blue Ridge, from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, with men of that race, excepting the lower portion, which was occupied by Germans.

In the year 1736, Henry McCullock, from the province of Ulster, obtained a grant of 64,000 acres in the present County of Duplin, North Carolina, and introduced upon it between three and four thousand of his Scotch-Irish countrymen from the north of Ireland.

Besides the large number of emigrants of this nationality who came, through Virginia from Pennsylvania, into North Carolina, many ships filled with Scotch-Irish passengers from the north of Ireland came into Charleston and other southern ports, and the emigrants moving north met those coming south from Pennsylvania and settled with them in North Carolina and other southern States.

Our associate, William Wirt Henry, in speaking of the Scotch-Irish, says: "So great was the population of the race in North Carolina before the Revolution, that they may be said to have given direction to her history. With their advent, began the educational history of the State."[1]

Dr. David Ramsay, an ardent patriot in Revolutionary times, like the New Hampshire physician, Matthew Thornton, wrote much, as is well known, about the history of South Carolina. He says, as quoted by Henry, in speaking of pre-revolutionary times, that "scarce a ship sailed from any of 'the ports of Ireland' for Charleston, that was not crowded with men, women, and children." He speaks, too, of a thousand emigrants who came in a single year from Pennsylvania and Virginia, driving their horses, cattle and hogs before them and who were assigned places in the western woods of the province. These, says Henry, were Scotch-Irish. They were distinguished by economy and industry, and the portion of the province occupied by them soon became its most populous part.

[1] The Scotch-Irish of the South, by William Wirt Henry, in First Scotch-Irish Congress, pp. 123, 124.

Ramsay says, that to this element in the population, "South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers and schoolmasters were from North Britain."[1]

The early settlers of South Carolina were largely Huguenots; the province seems to have been generously peopled, too, by the Scotch-Irish, a race which was connected by a religious tie to the Huguenots, both being warm Calvinists.

The prosperity of Georgia has been largely owing to Scotch-Irish settlers and their descendants.

The pioneers of Kentucky were mainly from Virginia and North Carolina, and its population is largely Scotch-Irish in its ancestry. The first settlers of Tennessee crossed over the mountains from North Carolina and with subsequent emigrants made that State one of those, a very large portion of whose people are of the same race. Mississippi and Alabama, Florida, Arkansas and Missouri, were settled at first by emigrants from adjacent States and have all of them, naturally, a considerable Scotch-Irish element in their population.

Texas was conquered by a Scotch-Irishman, General Sam Houston,[2] and has many families of Scotch-Irish ancestry within its borders. There are many representatives of this race in other States, such as Ohio, Iowa, Minnesota and California. The race has been prolific and, being of a hardy, brave and adventurous spirit, has gone everywhere throughout the country.

The story of Cherry Valley, a little town in New York that was settled by Scotch-Irishmen in 1741, is very interesting, but I have no time to tell it.[3]

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[1] Ramsay as quoted by Henry, First Cong. of the Scotch-Irish, p. 125.

[2] "His" (Houston's) "ancestors on his father's and mother's side are traced back to the Highlands of Scotland." They emigrated to the north of Ireland. "Here they remained until the siege of Derry, in which they were engaged, when they emigrated to Pennsylvania."—D. C. Kelley in Scotch-Irish in America, Second Congress, p. 145.

[3] From this town came the ancestors of the late Douglas Campbell, a descendant of one of the defenders of Londonderry, Ireland, whose recently

The Scotch-Irish settlers who came to this country repaired, for the most part, to the frontiers of the colonies. This is true of those who went to the Middle and South Atlantic States, where they were found mainly in their western portions. It was true, also, of such as came to Maine, to Londonderry, New Hampshire, and to Worcester, Massachusetts. The result was that it was in very large measure people of this nationality who were engaged in the Indian struggles which preceded the Revolution.

We find men of this race actively engaged in the Old French war, which began in 1744, and in the later contest between Great Britain and France on this continent, upon the renewal of hostilities in 1756. Thus, soldiers from Londonderry served under Pepperell in the expedition against Cape Breton. During the later attempt upon Crown Point, three companies of hardy men, who had adroitness in traversing woods, were selected from the New Hampshire regiment to act as rangers. Many of the men selected were from the Scotch-Irish town of Londonderry, and the three captains, Robert Rogers, John Stark, and William Stark, had all been residents of the same place. The two latter were brothers and sons of an early Scotch-Irish inhabitant of the town.[1] Rogers, a brave and skilful officer, was soon made Major, and his body of rangers performed active and efficient service. A company of soldiers from Londonderry aided in the reduction of Canada in the campaign when Quebec was taken by Wolfe.

In the Colonial wars which preceded the Revolution, it is stated that the soldiers of Virginia were principally drawn

published work, The Puritan in England, Holland and America, has attracted considerable attention. The last chapter of his volumes is an interesting summary of much that has become known about the Scotch-Irish in the United States.—See Campbell, Vol. II., p. 482, note. American Ancestry. (J. Munsell's Sons.) Vol. 8, 1893, p. 156.

[1] Parker (p. 239) says that Archibald Stark, the father of William and John Stark, was, like many of the early emigrants to Londonderry, N. H., "a native of Scotland, and emigrated while young to Londonderry in Ireland."

from the Scotch-Irish settlements in the valley west of the Blue Ridge and in the Piedmont Counties. Previous to the encounter at Lexington, three British soldiers deserted from the army in Boston and found their way to Londonderry. Their hiding place was disclosed and a detachment of soldiers was sent from Boston to arrest them. They were taken prisoners, but had not gone far before a company of young men, which had been hurriedly raised in Londonderry, by Captain James Aiken, caught up with their captors and demanded and secured their release. The rescued men afterwards lived unmolested in Londonderry.[1] As soon as the news of the battle of Lexington reached New Hampshire, 1200 troops immediately repaired to Cambridge and Charlestown. Among these was a large company from Londonderry, commanded by George Reed, who upon the organization of the troops at Cambridge was made a Colonel. The New Hampshire Convention held at Exeter, April 25, 1775, formed the troops of that State then near Boston, into two regiments under the command of Colonels Reed and Stark, natives of Londonderry.

At the first call of Congress for soldiers to defend Boston, Daniel Morgan, of Scotch-Irish blood,[2] immediately raised a company of riflemen among his people in the lower valley of Virginia, and by a forced march of six hundred miles reached the beleaguered town in three weeks.

The back or upper counties of Virginia were Scotch-Irish. Their representatives got control of the House of Burgesses, and it was by their votes, and under the leadership of the young Scotchman,[3] Patrick Henry, that were passed, in opposition to the combined efforts of the old

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[1] Parker, p. 104.

[2] W. W. Henry, in Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., p. 118.

[3] William Wirt Henry writes in the article "Henry, Patrick," in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, of Patrick Henry: "His father, John Henry, was a Scotchman, son of Alexander Henry and Jean Robertson, a cousin of the historian William Robertson and of the mother of Lord Brougham."

leaders of the province, those resolutions denying the validity of the Stamp Act, which roused the continent.[1]

While it cannot be allowed that the Scotch-Irish people of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, passed resolutions May 20, 1775, declaring their independence of Great Britain, it is certain that on the 31st of that month they uttered patriotic sentiments fully abreast of the time.[2]

The men of this race showed these sentiments everywhere throughout the Colonies. Four months before the passage of the resolutions in Mecklenburg County, the freeholders of Fincastle County, Virginia, presented an address to the Continental Congress in which they declared, that if an attempt were made to dragoon them out of the privileges to which they were entitled as subjects of Great Britain and to reduce them to slavery, they were "deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power on earth but at the expense of" their "lives."[3]

It was seventeen days before the Declaration of Independence that eighty-three able-bodied men of the Scotch-Irish town of Peterborough, N. H., signed this resolution:

"We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our power, at the risk of our lives and fortune, with ARMS, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies against the united Colonies."[4]

It has been suggested that even after the Declaration of Independence had been adopted by Congress, it would not have been signed and promulgated but for the action of John Witherspoon, one of the delegates from New Jersey, the President of Princeton College, a Scotch Presbyterian

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[1] Henry in First Scotch-Irish Cong., p. 118.

[2] Narrative and Critical History of America, Ed. by Justin Winsor, v. 6, pp. 256, 257, note.

[3] Professor Henry Alexander White, in Scotch-Irish in America, Second Cong., p. 232.

[4] Parker, p. 186.

clergyman and a descendant of John Knox. Seeing how the other representatives held back, he rose in his place, you remember, and declaring that as his gray head must soon bow to the fate of all, he preferred that it should go by the axe of the executioner rather than that the cause of independence should not prevail.[1]

Several Scotchmen and Scotch-Irishmen signed the Declaration. Professor Macloskie, a Scotch-Irish professor in Princeton College, states that the "Declaration of Independence as we have it to-day is in the handwriting of a Scotch-Irishman, Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress; was first printed by Captain Thomas Dunlap, another Scotch-Irishman, who published the first daily newspaper in America; a third Scotch-Irishman, Captain John Nixon, of Philadelphia, first read it to the people."[2]

The Scotch-Irish came to this country full of bitter feeling towards the government of Great Britain. They had been oppressed by that government and they believed that it had wickedly broken faith with them. They hated, too, the hierarchy of the Church of England. Presbyterians as they were, they had been oppressed by that hierarchy. They sympathized, also, with the Puritans of New England, who regarded the presence here of bishops and other ecclesiastics of the Church of England as the presence of the emissaries of a foreign power that was trying to reduce them to subjection.

It was largely through Scotch-Irish influence and support that religious liberty was established in Virginia and elsewhere throughout this country. These showed themselves when, in 1776, Patrick Henry, a Scotchman, as before

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[1] This anecdote appears in a number of places. (See, *e. g.*, Craighead's Scotch and Irish Seeds, etc., p. 334.) It may be found with the particular turn given to it here in The Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., pp. 182, 183, in an address by Colonel A. K. M'Clure, of Philadelphia.

[2] Professor George Macloskie, Princeton College, to whom Campbell declares himself indebted for the information given. See Campbell, Vol. II., p. 487 (note). See, also, The Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, p. 95.

stated, led in the movement which secured the insertion in the famous Bill of Rights of Virginia of the declaration that one of the inalienable rights of man is his right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.

It was through the pressure of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians that Jefferson, in the next session of the assembly, was prompted to write, and by their votes that he secured the passage of, the act for the establishment of religious liberty, which has done so much to effect the divorce of Church and State in Virginia and throughout the Union.

In contemplating the wide-reaching results of the example set here in America, Mr. William Wirt Henry is led to add to a statement similar to the one just made, "Thus there was completed by the Scotch-Irish in Virginia, in 1776, the Reformation commenced by Luther two hundred and fifty years before."[1]

The Scotch-Irish, as you would imply from what I have said before, entered into the contest of the Revolution, not only to uphold civil and religious liberty, but also with a zeal inspired by an ardent desire to pay off old scores.[2] The Scotch-Irish served in great numbers in the Continental army and in the militia of the several States during the Revolution, and the achievements of their officers and men were often brilliant. When the British landed at Charlestown "the two New Hampshire regiments were ordered to join the forces on Breed's Hill. A part were detached to throw up a work on Bunker Hill, and the remainder under" the Colonels born in Londonderry, "Stark and Reed, joined the Connecticut forces under General Putnam, and the regiment of Colonel Prescott, at

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[1] Scotch-Irish in America, First Cong., p. 123.

[2] Froude says: "But throughout the revolted colonies, and, therefore, probably in the first to begin the struggle, all evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish whom the bishops and Lord Donegal and Company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster." —The English in Ireland in the 18th Century, by J. A. Froude, Vol. II., p. 141 (English ed.).

the rail-fence. 'This was the very point of the British attack, the key of the American position.'"[1]

Again, it was John Stark who hurriedly gathered together 1,400 well-trained militia from New Hampshire and Vermont, and instead of making Molly Stark a widow, beat the detachment of troops which Burgoyne had sent to Bennington, giving the Americans the much needed inspiration of a victory. In less than two months followed the battle of Saratoga, October 7, 1777. Burgoyne was conducting an armed reconnoissance and much fighting ensued. The right of the British line was commanded by the brave Scotchman, General Simon Fraser. On the left of the American troops was the equally brave Scotch-Irish Colonel Morgan, with his regiment of sharpshooters. The Scotch-Irish in America were generally fine marksmen.[2] Seeing that an officer on an iron gray charger was active in the fight and that wherever he went he turned the tide of battle, Morgan, calling to some of the best men in his regiment, pointed to the officer and said, "Bring him down." At the crack of a faithful rifle the gallant British officer reeled in his saddle and fell. That officer was Simon Fraser, the idol of Burgoyne's army.[3] Burgoyne was now in straits, and failing to receive hoped-for aid from Sir Henry Clinton, surrendered his army on the 17th of the month.

A distinguished member of this Society[4] has labored hard, during the last few years, in forcible and eloquent speech, to secure for the pioneer settler of the Northwestern Territory, General Rufus Putman, of Rutland, Massachusetts,

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[1] Parker, p. 106.

[2] Parker quotes from an unnamed writer the following words as written about the troops under Colonels Stark and Reed at Bunker Hill: "Almost every soldier equalled William Tell as a marksman, and could aim his weapon at an opposer with as keen a relish. Those from the frontiers had gained this address against the savages and beasts of the forests."—Parker's History of Londonderry, p. 106.

[3] William Wirt Henry in First Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 119. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, Vol. I., p. 62.

[4] Hon. George F. Hoar.

due recognition of what he regards as his great merits as an officer in the Revolutionary army, and his inestimable services in giving a proper tone to the settlements in the northwest. It is interesting to mention in connection with this fact another fact, namely, that the Northwestern Territory, then claimed by Virginia, was taken possession of in 1778, in an ever memorable campaign, by the great soldier, Colonel George Rogers Clark, of Scotch descent,[1] and two hundred brave men of the Scotch-Irish race whom he had collected for his secret expedition, in Augusta County, Virginia, and in Kentucky, at the command of the Scotch governor, Patrick Henry.

It would be a pleasant task to speak at length of the exploits, during the Revolution, of officers and men from the Middle and Southern States, of Scotch-Irish extraction, for a majority of the troops who served on the American side, from Pennsylvania and the States south of it, seem to have been of that nationality. I can only mention, however, the battle of King's Mountain, which was fought by a body of troops composed of Huguenots and of Scotch-Irish volunteers. This battle took place the 7th of October, 1780, just three years after the memorable engagement at Saratoga, and, like the earlier contest, was a turning point in the affairs of the Americans. That battle was the forerunner of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and stood in causal relations to it, just as the battle of Saratoga resulted in the capture of the army of Burgoyne.

[1] Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, writes to the author of this paper, as follows:—

"According to all family traditions, John Clark, great-grandfather of George Rogers Clark, came to Virginia in 1630, from the southwest part of Scotland. According to one tradition, a few years later, he visited friends in Maryland, and married there 'a red-haired Scotch woman.' George Rogers Clark himself, had 'sandy' hair; another tradition has it, that the woman was a Dane. Their one son, William John, died early, leaving two sons, John(2) and Jonathan. Jonathan was a bachelor, and left his estate to his brother's son, John(3). One of William John's daughters married a Scotch settler, McCloud, and their daughter married John Rogers, father of the Ann Rogers who married John Clark(4), her cousin, and thus she became the mother of George Rogers Clark. So George Rogers Clark had Scotch ancestry on both sides of the house."

Besides the officers already mentioned, the Scotch-Irish contributed to the Continental army during the Revolution such men as General Henry Knox of Massachusetts,[1] General George Clinton of New York,[2] and, as claimed on apparently good grounds, Colonel John Eager Howard of Maryland, who changed the fortunes of the day at the battle of Cowpens, Colonel William Campbell of Virginia, who won the battle of King's Mountain, and General Andrew Pickens of South Carolina.[3]

"After the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the various States proceeded to form their independent governments. Then the Scotch-Irish gave to New York her first governor, George Clinton, who filled the position for seven terms, of three years each, and died during his second term of office as Vice-President of the United

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[1] See Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, etc., by Francis S. Drake, Boston, 1873, pp. 8, 9.

[2] American Ancestry, Vol. VI., 1891, p. 52.

[3] General Anthony Wayne, the brave hero of Stony Point, is commonly spoken of as a Scotch-Irishman. His father was born in Wicklow County, Ireland. There was a tradition in the family that the Waynes were of Welsh origin. They may have intermarried with persons of Scotch blood, however. (See American Ancestry, Vol. IV., p. 75.) General John Sullivan of Maine and New Hampshire, older brother of Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts, is sometimes claimed as a Scotch-Irishman. He certainly was Irish, but I do not find that he was Scotch also. In Craighead's Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil, Rev. Dr. Smith is quoted as saying that General Morgan, the hero of Cowpens, and General Pickens, who made the arrangements for that battle, were "both Presbyterian elders," and that "nearly all under their command were Presbyterians." (p. 342.) Dr. Smith is also quoted as saying, that "in the battle of King's Mountain, Colonel Campbell" and several other high officers were Presbyterian elders, and that "the body of their troops were collected from Presbyterian settlements." (p. 342.) General Wayne is mentioned as a Presbyterian. (p. 340.) Of course there were many Presbyterians not of Scotch or Scotch-Irish blood, but men of those races who emigrated to America and their families were for the most part of that denomination. The picturesque Kentuckian, Daniel Boone, is often spoken of as a Scotch-Irishman. It is well known that the late Lyman C. Draper had unusual facilities for finding out the truth in regard to the Boones. Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites writes me from Madison, Wisconsin, as follows: "Daniel Boone's father was of pure English stock, from Devonshire; his mother, Sarah Morgan, was a Welsh Quaker. Draper's notes clearly indicate that he discarded the Scotch-Irish theory regarding Sarah."

States. To Delaware they gave her first governor, John MacKinney. To Pennsylvania they gave her war governor, Thomas McKean, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. To New Jersey Scotland gave her war governor, William Livingston, and to Virginia, Patrick Henry, not only her great war governor" but her civil leader.[1]

"It is a noteworthy fact in American history," writes Douglas Campbell, "that of the four members of Washington's cabinet, Knox, of Massachusetts, the only New Englander, was a Scotch-Irishman; Alexander Hamilton of New York was a Scotch-Frenchman; Thomas Jefferson was of Welsh descent; and the fourth, Edmund Randolph, claimed among his ancestors the Scotch Earls of Murray. New York also furnished the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay, who was a descendant of French Huguenots; while the second Chief Justice, John Rutledge, was Scotch-Irish, as were also Wilson and Iredell, two of the four original associate justices; a third, Blair, being of Scotch origin. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, was, like Jefferson, of Welsh descent."[2]

After the formation of the United States government we find men of the Scotch-Irish race winning honors in war as they had done in the Revolution, and in the earlier contests between France and Great Britain, and with the North American Indians.

At first, the United States had only a nominal army. In the spring of 1792 the number of troops was increased to 5,000, a legionary organization was adopted, and Anthony Wayne was appointed Major-General. With this army General Wayne took the field against the Miami Indians, and overthrew them at the battle of Maumee Rapids on August 20, 1794.

You all remember the stirring picture of the Battle of

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[1] Campbell, Vol. II., p. 487.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 481, note.

Lake Erie in the Capitol at Washington. Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, taking his younger brother Alexander with him and calling to four sailors to row him to the *Niagara*, is represented, with the flag of his vessel wrapped around his arm, as he passed from the disabled *Lawrence* in a small boat to the ship next in size to the ruined flag-ship. Going out from Put-in-Bay the 10th of September, 1813, with his whole squadron, he met the British fleet in a memorable naval contest. Himself a young man of twenty-eight years of age he was opposed to one of Nelson's veterans. Himself a Scotch-Irishman, his opponent, Captain Robert H. Barclay, was a Scotchman. The engagement was hot, but at three o'clock in the afternoon the gallant Perry saw the British flag hauled down. For the first time since she had created a navy, Great Britain lost an entire squadron. "We have met the enemy and they are ours," is the familiar line in which Perry announced his victory, in a despatch to General William Henry Harrison. Commodore Perry's mother was Sarah Wallace Alexander, a Scotch woman from the north of Ireland.[1] She became the mother of five sons, all of whom were officers in the United States Navy. Two daughters married Captain George W. Rogers and Dr. William Butler of the U. S. Navy. Dr. Butler was the father of Senator Matthew Calbraith Butler, of South Carolina. After the victory at Lake Erie, some farmers in Rhode Island, you remember, declared, such was the estimation in which they held this woman, that it was "Mrs. Perry's victory."[2]

The furious battle at the Horse Shoe of the Tallapoosa

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[1] Christopher Raymond Perry, the father of Oliver Hazard Perry, met his future wife when confined as a prisoner of war at Newry, Ireland. She was a granddaughter of "James Wallace, an officer in the Scotch army and a signer of the Solemn League and Covenant" who "fled in 1660 with others, from County Ayr to the north of Ireland."—Our Naval Heroes, by D. C. Kelley, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fifth Congress, p. 115. See, also, "Ancestry of thirty-three Rhode Islanders," &c., by John Osborne Austin, under Perry.

[2] Our Naval Heroes, by D. C. Kelley, in Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress, pp. 114-116. See Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, Ch. 25.

River with the Creek Indians, March 27, 1814, brought to the front General Sam Houston, a man of the Scotch-Irish race of whom the country has heard much. Major-General Andrew Jackson, another distinguished Scotch-Irishman,[1] commanded in that battle. Jackson's father, also named Andrew, came from Carrickfergus, on the north coast of Ireland, in 1765. This battle was a signal victory, and soon after a treaty of peace was signed by which the hostile Creeks lost the greater part of their territory. It is unnecessary to speak of General Jackson's success at New Orleans in January of the following year.

It must be stated, however, that General James Miller, who won universal admiration by his gallant attack upon a battery at Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814, was Scotch-Irish, a native of Peterborough and out of the loins of Londonderry.[2] It is he who was subsequently Collector of Customs at Salem for more than twenty years, and of whom Hawthorne speaks so enthusiastically, calling him "New England's most distinguished soldier."[3]

Zachary Taylor, the popular hero of the Mexican war, is generally reckoned as having been of Scotch-Irish extraction; of that race, too, of course, was Matthew Calbraith Perry, the brother of the victor of the battle of Lake Erie, who ably assisted Scott as a naval commander at Vera

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[1] Among other places see Andrew Jackson, by D. C. Kelley, in Scotch-Irish in America, Third Congress, p. 182. Andrew Jackson as a Public Man, by William Graham Sumner (American Statesmen Series), Boston: 1882. James Parton in his life of Andrew Jackson says (pp. 47 and 48, vol. 1): "I may as well remark here as anywhere, that the features and shape of head of General Jackson, which ten thousand sign-boards have made familiar to the people of the United States, are common in North Carolina and Tennessee. In the course of a two months' tour in those States among the people of Scotch-Irish descent, I saw more than twenty well-marked specimens of the long, slender Jacksonian head, with the bushy, bristling hair, and the well known features."

[2] See in History of the town of Peterborough, N. H., by Albert Smith, "Genealogy and history of Peterborough families," p. 147. In the sketch of General Miller in Smith's history is a letter to his wife Ruth, written from Fort Erie, July 28, 1814, three days after the battle of Lundy's Lane.

[3] "The Custom House," introductory to the Scarlet Letter.

Cruz, and who afterwards organized and conducted with marked success the well known expedition to Japan.

Officers and men of the Scotch-Irish race served in large numbers on both sides in the late Civil War, but I cannot stop to mention even the names of the most distinguished.

Mr. Campbell says "of the twenty-three Presidents of the United States, the Scotch-Irish have contributed six—Jackson, Polk, Taylor, Buchanan, Johnson, Arthur; the Scotch three—Monroe, Grant, Hayes; the Welsh one—Jefferson; and the Hollanders one—Van Buren. Garfield's ancestors on his father's side came from England, but the family line is traced back into Wales; his mother was a French Huguenot. Cleveland's mother was Irish; Benjamin Harrison's mother was Scotch."[1] "The pedigrees of Madison and Lincoln are doubtful."[2]

Six of the early settlers of the Scotch-Irish town of Londonderry, or their descendants, writes Parker, "have filled the gubernatorial chair of New Hampshire, namely, Matthew Thornton, who was President of the Provincial Congress, in 1775, Jeremiah Smith, Samuel Bell, John Bell, Samuel Dinsmore, and Samuel Dinsmore, Jr."[3]

To these names must be added at least one more, namely, that of our late associate, Governor and United States Senator, Charles Henry Bell, of Exeter, who was the third chief magistrate of New Hampshire, bearing the surname of the ancestor of the three, John Bell of Londonderry, N. H. Our late associate John James Bell, grandson of Governor Samuel Bell and son of Judge Samuel D. Bell, and Hon. Luther V. Bell, formerly Superintendent of the McLean Asylum, Somerville, Massachusetts, were also descendants of John Bell of Londonderry.

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[1] Campbell, Vol. 2, p. 493, note.

[2] *Ibid.* The writer of this paper has not studied the pedigrees of the presidents, but gives the statement made regarding the above as that of an investigator who, while not by any means free from mistakes, is pretty careful in respect to assertions. The same remark should be made regarding some of the other pedigrees contained in other extracts from Mr. Campbell's History.

[3] Parker, p. 208.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph MacKean, first President of Bowdoin College, was a native of Londonderry.[1]

The venerable Rev. Dr. John H. Morison, of Boston, is of Scotch-Irish extraction and is descended from the father of the first male child born in Londonderry. It is of him that the story is told that after he had delivered an election sermon before the New Hampshire legislature, and it had been moved to print a certain number of copies of the discourse, a member rose and said that he would move that additional copies be printed if the brogue of the preacher could be reproduced.

Horace Greeley, according to Whitelaw Reid, was of Scotch-Irish ancestry on both sides of his house.[2]

John Caldwell Calhoun, the great Southern statesman, like his sturdy opponent, President Jackson, was of the Scotch-Irish race,[3] so were the great inventors, Robert Fulton,[4] Cyrus H. McCormick,[5] and Samuel Finley Breese

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[1] His father, John MacKean, was born April 13, 1715, at Ballymoney, in the County of Antrim, Ireland, and was about four years of age when *his* father emigrated to this country.—Parker, p. 224.

[2] See "Greeley, Horace," written by Whitelaw Reid, in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography.

[3] John C. Calhoun was the grandson of James Calhoun, who is said to have emigrated from Donegal, Ireland, in 1733 (John C. Calhoun, by Dr. H. von Holst, p. 8.) John C. Calhoun was the son of Patrick Calhoun, whom James Parton, in his Famous Americans of Recent Times speaks of (pp. 117, 118) as a Scotch-Irishman, who, with Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson, other Scotch-Irishmen, illustrates well the "North of Ireland" character. Patrick Calhoun was a Presbyterian like his father (J. Randolph Tucker, in article "Calhoun, John Caldwell" in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography). In 1770, Patrick Calhoun (von Holst, p. 8,) married Martha Caldwell, who, says John S. Jenkins in his Life of John Caldwell Calhoun (p. 21), was a daughter of a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, who, according to Tucker, was an emigrant from Ireland.

[4] "Robert Fulton was born in Little Britain, Lancaster Co., Pa., 1765. He was of respectable though not wealthy family. His father and mother were of Scotch-Irish blood. Their families were supposed to be a part of the great emigration from Ireland in 1730-31. The Fulton family were probably among the early settlers of the town of Lancaster, as the father of Robert Fulton was one of the founders of the Presbyterian Church of that place."—The Inventors of the Scotch-Irish race, by J. H. Bryson, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 175.

[5] Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, p. 101, Fourth Congress, p. 185.

Morse. The last named was the son of our late associate Rev. Jedidiah Morse, and the great-grandson of Rev. Dr. Samuel Finley, a Scotch-Irish President of Princeton[1] College. The celebrated surgeon, Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, was Scotch-Irish on both sides of his family.[2] Joseph Henry was of Scotch descent.[3] Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, is a native of Scotland.[4] In Canada the distinguished statesman Robert Baldwin and a large portion of his associates in securing the establishment of the Dominion of Canada are stated to have been of Scotch-Irish blood.[5]

The versatile Sir Francis Hincks is said to have been of the same blood.[6]

It is interesting to know that our associate James Bryce, the sympathetic and painstaking writer of the American Commonwealth, is a grandson of a Presbyterian minister of the north of Ireland and a Scotch-Irishman.[7]

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[1] The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 178.

[2] Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, by Dr. J. Howe Adams, Fifth Scotch-Irish Congress, p. 202.

[3] "Both the father and mother of Joseph Henry came from the southwest of Scotland, where the old family name was Hendrie. * * * the traditions of the family on both sides and the lion on the coat of arms point back to Irish ancestry of the highest rank; * * * he had a Scotch-Irish wife."—Professor G. Macloskie in "Joseph Henry" in The Scotch-Irish in America, Fifth Congress, p. 100.

[4] The mother of Thomas A. Edison, who was Miss Elliott, is of Scotch-Irish blood, says Dr. Bryson.—The Scotch-Irish in America, Fourth Congress, p. 188.

[5] The Scotch-Irish in Canada by Stuart Acheson, in The Scotch-Irish in America, Third Congress, pp. 203 and 204. Dr. William Warren Baldwin, the father of Robert Baldwin, took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh. He came to this country from a place near Cork, Ireland. Robert Baldwin was born in Toronto in 1804.—Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography by George McLean Rose.

[6] The Scotch-Irish in Canada by S. Acheson, just referred to, p. 206. Sir Francis Hincks was born in Cork, Ireland, son of Thomas Dix Hincks, a Presbyterian minister. The latter was born in Dublin and married Anne Boult of Chester. He was a son of Edward Hincks (m. Dix) who moved from Chester.—See Dictionary of National Biography, Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography and Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography just mentioned.

[7] Rev. James Bryce (1767–1857) went from Scotland, where he was born, to Ireland, and settled in 1805, as minister of the anti-burgher church in Killaig, Co. Londonderry. His son, James Bryce (1806-1877), was born in

The Scotch-Irish emigrants to this country were, generally speaking, men of splendid bodies and perfect digestion. They were men, too, of marked mental characteristics, which have impressed themselves on their posterity. They were plain, industrious and frugal in their lives. It has been said, such was their thrift, that Poor Richard himself could have given them "no new lessons against wastefulness and prodigality."[1]

But they had good intellectual powers and strong wills. They were notable for practical sagacity and common sense, and for tenacity of purpose. Conscious of their merits they were self-reliant and always ready to assert themselves, to defend their own rights and those of their neighbors, and courageously push forward. Plain in speech, they were not infrequently frank to the point of rudeness. With energy and firmness, while often hard, they were affectionate towards persons who conciliated them, hospitable and faithful. Their sedateness was qualified by their wit and humor.

The Scotch-Irish were led to come to this country, not only by the desire to better their material condition and to escape persecution, but by a spirit of daring.

As we have seen they took up their abode on our frontiers and defended us from the depredations of Indians, and did a large portion of the fighting required in our wars. They were ardent promoters of civil and religious liberty. As was to be expected, these Scotch Calvinists breathed the spirit of John Knox and contended fervently that the final regulation of political action belongs to the people.

For many years, also, they had been fighting for religious

Killaig (near Coleraine). In 1846, appointed to the High School, Glasgow. See Dictionary of National Biography, to which the information contained in the article on the Bryces was furnished by the family. James Bryce, the writer of the American Commonwealth, the son and grandson of the persons just mentioned, was born in Belfast, Ireland, May 10th, 1838. His mother was (or is) Margaret, eldest daughter of James Young, Esquire, of Abbeyville, Co. Antrim.—See Men and Women of the Time, Thirteenth edition, 1891.

[1] Governor Bell in "Londonderry Celebration," etc., pp. 23, 24.

liberty in Scotland and Ireland, and, taught by ecclesiastical and governmental oppression, had become the warmest adherents of religious liberty. The Scotch-Irish were a devout and religious people, and constant and earnest Bible readers. In many a home in this land they reproduced the beautiful picture of domestic piety which has been painted by the genius of the immortal Scottish poet, Burns, in the Cotter's Saturday Night.

The Scotch-Irish, however, were never content with a sentimental piety, but sought always with tremendous earnestness, to place religion on a basis of knowledge and thought. They were men, too, of high moral principle and marked integrity. Another characteristic which never failed to appear among settlements of this people, was a mighty zeal for education. They were never content with the lower grades of common schools, but demanded, everywhere, classical high schools, and later, colleges and universities. Look at the schools which they established in Londonderry[1] and other New Hampshire towns. In the little town of Cherry Valley, in New York, they opened the first classical school in the central and western portions of that great State.[2] They seem to have furnished the principal schoolmasters of all the provinces south of New York, prior to the Revolution, and it is noteworthy that a large portion of the leaders in that great movement in the lower Middle, and Southern States, received their education under men of this race.[3] From them they undoubtedly caught an ardent love of liberty and an increased glow of patriotism.

Religion, virtue, and knowledge were three passions of the Scotch-Irish. With them piety was never divorced

[1] Parker, pp. 82, 83, 119 et seq., 128.—Bell in "Londonderry Celebration," etc., p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196.

[3] What the Scotch-Irish have done for Education, by G. Macloskie, in Scotch-Irish in America, First Congress, pp. 90-101.—Campbell, Vol. II., p. 486, with the references to authorities cited.

from education, and religion, as stated before, was based upon an intellectual foundation and what they believed to be a basis of knowledge.

I began this paper by saying that the Puritan owed a tribute to the Scotch-Irishman. There is much in common between them, but I have not time to dwell upon the resemblances in their characters and careers. They agreed in their views of religious truth and duty, and in their zeal and firmness in resisting civil and ecclesiastical domination. They were fellow sufferers for conscience' sake.

It has been claimed, and here I conclude, that the Scotch-Irish in this country while eager to enjoy religious liberty for themselves, have been ready to grant it to others, and that in this respect they showed a better spirit than the Puritans.

Was not the difference caused by time, however?

The Scotch-Irish came here a hundred years later than the Puritans. Meanwhile the religious world had gone ahead and generally exercised a larger toleration.

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— Proceedings and Addresses of the Third Congress, at Louisville, Ky., May 14 to 17, 1891. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Barber & Smith, Agents.

— Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourth Congress, at Atlanta, Ga., April 28 to May 1, 1892. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Barber & Smith, Agents.

— Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifth Congress, at Springfield, Ohio, May 11 to 14, 1893. Nashville, Tenn.: Barber & Smith, Agents.

— Proceedings and Addresses of the Sixth Congress, at Des Moines, Iowa, June 7 to 10, 1894. Nashville, Tenn.: Barber & Smith, Agents.

These volumes of proceedings contain many papers of great value, and relate to the history of the Scotch-Irish race before coming to America and in this country.

In preparing the Report of the Council, I have made especial use of "The Scotch-Irish of the South," a paper in the first volume, by William Wirt Henry, and considerable use of "The Making of the Ulsterman," by J. S. MacIntosh; "The Scotch-Irish of New England," by Arthur L. Perry, in the second volume; "The Scotch-Irish in Canada," by Stuart Acheson, in the third; "The Inventors of the Scotch-Irish race," by John H. Bryson, in the fourth; and "Our Naval Heroes," by D. C. Kelly, in the fifth volume.

Professor Arthur L. Perry's paper, read at the Second Congress, has been printed in pamphlet form. (Boston: printed by J. S. Cushing & Co.) As printed in the proceedings, portions of this paper were cut out and their places indicated by stars. These are given at length in the reprint.

Campbell, Douglas. "The Puritan in Holland, England and America." 2 v. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1892.

The matter regarding the Scotch-Irish is to be found in the last chapter of the second volume. That chapter, besides embodying much other material, gives a very good summary of a large portion of the information brought out in the first three Congresses of the Scotch-Irish, correcting in some cases statements made in papers read in those meetings. I have been much indebted to Mr. Campbell's chapter, but think that it needs careful revision.

For a history of the Scotch-Irish before coming to America, see —

Froude, James Anthony. "The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." 3 v. London, 1874.

Lecky, W. E. H. "A History of England in the Eighteenth Century." 8 v. New York, 1878-1890. London, 1878-1890.

Harrison, John. "The Scot in Ulster." Edinburgh and London, 1888.

The work of Mr. Harrison is a little volume which contains a valuable epitome of the history of the Scotch-Irish in Ulster, from the beginning of the Seventeenth Century to the present time. It is founded upon the best authorities, which appear to have been carefully consulted. I have made free use of Mr. Harrison's statements in preparing the earlier portions of my paper.

The more important works referred to by Mr. Harrison are the following:—

Calendar of State Papers. Ireland, 1603.
Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. 8.
The Montgomery Manuscripts. Belfast, 1869.
The Hamilton Manuscripts. Belfast, 1867.
State Papers of James VI. (Abbottsford Club.)
Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, vols. 1630 to 1662.
Rushworth, John. Historical Collections, 1618 to 1648.
Fraser's Magazine, for article on Ulster and its people. July-Dec., 1876.
Reid, James. History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.
Thomson's Acts of Scottish Parliament.
Benn, George. History of Belfast.
Knox, Alexander. History of the County of Down. Dublin, 1875.
Hill, George. The Macdonnels of Antrim.
Hill, George. The Plantation in Ulster.
Gardiner's Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I., chaps. 15 and 16.
Balfour's Annals of Scotland.
Memorials of the troubles in Scotland. (Spalding Club.)
Turner, Sir James. Memoirs of his own life and time.
Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.
Woodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.
Petty, Sir William. Political Survey of Ireland. London, 1719.
Leland's History of Ireland.
Macpherson's History of Commerce.
Macaulay's History of England, Chapter 12 (Defence of Londonderry).
Walker's True account of the Siege of Londonderry. London, 1689.
Articles in the Ulster Journal of Archæology.
Young, Arthur. A Tour in Ireland, made in the years 1776-'77-'78.

Other works on this period of Scotch-Irish history which may be examined with advantage are —

Plowden, Francis. Historical Review of the state of Ireland. Phila., 1805-6. 5 v. 8°.

Futhey, J. Smith. Historical discourse delivered on the 150th anniversary of the Octorara church, Chester Co., Pa.

Long extracts from this address are given in Smith's "History of Peterborough," to be found later on in this list.

In regard to the history of the Scotch-Irish in New England, besides the paper of Professor Perry, it is desirable to refer to the following works: —

MAINE.—Willis, William. The Scotch-Irish immigration to Maine, and Presbyterianism in New England (Article I. in Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Vol. VI., Portland).

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—State Papers of New Hampshire,—particularly "Towns," Vol. 14, and "Muster Rolls," Vol. 2.

—Parker, Edward L. The History of Londonderry, comprising the towns of Derry and Londonderry, N. H. Boston: Perkins & Whipple, 1851.

I have made large use of the history of Parker and the paper of Willis in preparing this paper.

—Smith, Albert. History of the town of Peterborough, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, etc. Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1876.

—Morrison, Leonard A. The History of Windham, N. H. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co., 1883.

—Belknap, Jeremy. History of New Hampshire.

—The Londonderry Celebration, Exercises on the 150th anniversary of the settlement of Old Nutfield, June 10, 1869. Compiled by Robert C. Mack. Manchester: Published by John B. Clarke, 1870.

—Stark, Caleb. Memoir and official correspondence of General J. Stark, etc. Concord, 1860.

—Addresses at the dedication of the monument erected to the memory of Matthew Thornton, at Merrimack, N. H., September 29, 1892. Published by authority of the State. Concord, N. H.: The Republican Press Association, 1894.

VERMONT.—Thompson, Zadoc. History of Vermont, national, civil and statistical, in three parts.

Look in the Gazetteer of Vermont, which is part three of this work, under such headings as "Londonderry," "Landgrove," etc.

—McKeen's History of Bradford, Vermont.

MASSACHUSETTS. *Worcester.*—Records of the Proprietors of Worcester, Massachusetts. Edited by Franklin P. Rice. In Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, Vol. III. Worcester, Mass.: Published by the Society, 1881.

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—Deeds at Registry of Deeds.

Worcester County was formed July 10, 1731. Deeds recorded before that date can be consulted at the Registry of Deeds in Middlesex County, at Cambridge, as Worcester belonged to Middlesex County before Worcester County was formed.

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—Lincoln, William. History of Worcester. Worcester: Moses D. Phillips & Co., 1837.

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—Wall, Caleb A. Reminiscences of Worcester. Worcester, Mass.: Printed by Tyler & Seagrave, 1877.

—Holland, Josiah Gilbert. History of Western Massachusetts, 2 v. Springfield: Published by Samuel Bowles & Co., 1855.
—Waldo Family.—New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XVIII., 176, 177.
— - Bridgman, Thomas. Inscriptions on monuments in King's Chapel Burial Ground. Boston, 1853. pp. 292, 293.
— - Family Memorials by Edward E. Salisbury (p. 21) 1885. Privately printed.
—The Scotch-Irish in New England (George H. Smyth). In The Magazine of American History, vol. 9, p. 153.
—Scotch-Irish in New England (W. Willis). In New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 12; 231.
CANADA.—Miller, Thomas. Historical and genealogical record of the first settlers of Colchester County down to the present time. Halifax, Nova Scotia: A. & W. MacKinlay, 1873.
—Patterson, George. A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877.
Proud, Robert. History of Pennsylvania, 1681-1742. Philadelphia: 1797-98. 2 v. 8°.
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Ramsay, David. History of South Carolina, 1670-1808. Charleston, 1809. 2 v. 8°.
—History of the American Revolution. Philadelphia, 1789. 2 v. 8°.
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Baird, Robert. Religion in the United States of America. Glasgow and London, 1844.
Craighead, J. G. Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1878.
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Scotch-Irish in America (G. H. Smyth). In Magazine of American History, 4; 161.
McCulloch, Hugh. Men and measures of half a century. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888.
Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, under the words "Matthew Thornton," "Asa Gray," etc.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

At a meeting of the Council September 29, 1894, on motion of Hon. Edward L. Davis, it was voted that the committee on the library be authorized to construct additional shelf-room in the lower hall. After careful consideration a contract was made with the Norcross Brothers for transforming it into a stack-room. The stacks are of iron, eight and one-half feet high, with shelves of wood, being material brought from the Massachusetts State Library in the State House, Boston. While the hall is well filled, the wall shelving, fronting a passageway of four feet, is still retained. There are also passageways of six and five feet width respectively, running through the centre from east to west and from north to south. Five aisles from three to four feet in width, varying according to the location of the iron pillars and radiators, run north and south. The stacks, which are painted white, are well lighted by four large windows upon Highland Street on the north, and by an equal number upon the open court between Antiquarian Hall and the brick Court House on the south. The use of this room for our overflow will greatly relieve the pressure upon the main halls and manuscript room and further the classification by alcoves, which has been for so many years a marked feature of our library. And here I record not only the librarian's grateful appreciation of this timely aid, but that of his two assistants. The withdrawal December 31, 1894, of Miss Mary F. Goodwin, after nearly a year's conscientious and painstaking service, is here noted.

Some years since, the perishable material in our Cabinet was transferred to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge and

to the museum of the Worcester Society of Antiquity. The Council Records show the following supplementary action: On September 24, 1892, "The matter of disposing of the remains of the cabinet—including a large number of relics—was discussed at some length, and on motion was referred to a committee of two, consisting of Mr. J. Evarts Greene and Dr. G. Stanley Hall." On October 20, 1892, "Mr. J. Evarts Greene made a partial report from the committee on the cabinet. On motion of Judge P. Emory Aldrich voted that the attention of Prof. Frederic W. Putnam be called to the collection in the cabinet, with a view and with permission to select a portion for the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, to decide if others should remain with us, and to offer the residue to the Worcester Society of Antiquity." The important Columbian Exposition work to which Prof. Putnam was called, delayed the action contemplated by the Council. However, the archæological and ethnological material selected on March 12, 1895, by Prof. Putnam and Dr. George A. Dorsey of his staff, was expressed to Cambridge on the next day, and the residue—chiefly historical—was transferred to the Worcester Society of Antiquity on the day after. The two cases of Indian relics, selected by Messrs. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., and William A. Smith, as reported in our Proceedings of April 29, 1868, are intact in our main hall. Mr. Salisbury's cases of Yucatecan remains still suggest our archæological and ethnological interests. Such transfers as have been herein reported by our National Society, mean a step forward—a real help to scientific research. That the public museum as well as the public library has come to stay seems not to admit of a doubt, though the plan of uniting them is still in its experimental stage. We shall agree with Dr. G. Brown Goode that "The museum of the past must be set aside, reconstructed, transformed from a cemetery of bric-a-brac into a nursery of living thoughts." And his definition of such an institu-

tion is admirable: "An efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well-selected specimen."

The death of our associate, the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, recalls a tribute paid to his father which is equally applicable to the son. In the Society's Proceedings of October 23, 1843, we read: "Among our early and steady friends, we may number another, distinguished for his love of antiquarian research and his able and friendly support. The late Lieut.-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop proved himself on all occasions a firm, steadfast, sincere and able friend. As far as was in his power, he let no opportunity escape him to promote our interests and prosperity. His benevolence and his labors were active, efficient and untiring." The second name upon our October roll of members—that of the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis—was starred but a few days after that of Mr. Winthrop, his friend and neighbor. His acceptance of membership, dated Charlestown, Mass., July 9, 1847, contains the following paragraph: "I shall take pleasure in any labor which will help, on my part, to advance the good objects of the Society, and to share the tasks which now belong to an increasing number among us." Our printed and manuscript records, as well as his last will and testament, show how faithfully he kept this promise.

A leading librarian and indexer asks, "Why has not your Society published an alphabetical index to the valuable bibliography appended to its reprint of Thomas's History of Printing?" The importance of such a labor-saving device is recognized, but we have at present neither the time for its preparation nor the funds for its publication. A partial return, however, might be obtained by the sale of the scant one hundred reprints. A title-page and preface could precede the list and the proposed index follow it. Thus dignity and value would be added to a work which Dr. Haven greatly desired should appear, in this separate

form, as a memorial of his soldier-son and namesake, and in recognition of his labor upon it.

Our senior Vice-President suggests the printing of the following testimony recently received from Mr. Francis Keep now living, at the age of seventy-two, in Southbridge, Massachusetts. Brief extracts from his letter of March 19, 1895, will explain his personal interest in the accompanying narrative. He writes: "Enclosed is an account of Niagara running dry in the spring of 1848. As I was an eye-witness of the fact—having been there at work at that time—would be pleased to have it recorded in some Historical Society for future reference. The American side was dry. The same season the Suspension Bridge was begun under Engineer Ellet who built the ram boats in war times. I presume I am the only man now living in Massachusetts who saw the falls at that time. Mr. James R. Clapp (a companion of Mr. Keep), lives now in Kewanee, Ill." Following is the account:—

"THE FALLS OF NIAGARA RAN DRY.

"Those who have seen this tremendous cataract will consider that it is an absurd fable to talk of the Falls running dry, and only worthy to be recorded in Baron Munchausen's wonderful adventures. Still, strange and incredible as it may appear, the truth in this case is stranger than fiction. Such an event actually occurred about forty-five years since, and there is not the faintest trace of a tradition that it ever occurred before, and most certainly it never happened since. I have frequently heard the particulars from the late Bishop of Niagara, also from his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas C. Street. Indeed, some years since Bishop Fuller gave an account of the wonderful phenomenon over his own name in a Hamilton paper, from which the greater part of the following statement is taken. It occurred on the morning of the 31st of March, 1848. Mr. Thomas C. Street lived at that time in the pretty homestead over the islands, to which he and his sister and friends had access by a suspension bridge he had erected. There was a mill at the end of the rapids that belonged to the Street

family. On the morning in question his miller knocked at his bedroom door about five o'clock, and told him to get up quickly, as there was no water in the millrace nor in the great river outside. He said he was startled by the intelligence, and hurried out as soon as he could dress himself. There before him he saw the river channel, on whose banks he had been born thirty-four years previous, almost entirely dry.

"After a hurried breakfast, Mr. Street and his youngest sister went down about three-quarters of a mile to the precipice itself, over which there was so little water running that, having provided himself with a strong pole, they started from Table Rock and walked near the edge of the precipice about one-third of the way toward Goat Island on the American shore. On the mass of rock where human foot never before trod, Miss Street having tied her handkerchief on the end of the pole they set it up firmly among the rocks. Mr. Street said that he turned his view toward the river below the Falls, and saw the water so shallow that immense rocks stood up in such a frightful and picturesque manner that he shuddered when he thought of having frequently passed over them in the little steamer Maid of the Mist. He then returned home and drove along the Canada shore about half a mile above Goat Island.

"Various relics of the War of 1812, flung into the river after the battle of Lundy's Lane—rusty muskets, bayonets, etc.—were found among the rocks that were laid bare. Dr. Fuller did not get there until after the breaking up of the ice dam, but he found everyone in the neighborhood greatly excited at the wonderful event. Mr. Street's theory to account for the recession of the waters was this: That the winds had been blowing down Lake Erie, which is only about eight feet deep, and had been rushing a great deal of water from it over to the western portion of the lake. At this juncture, the ice on Lake Erie, which had been broken by these high winds, got jammed in the river, between Buffalo and the Canada side, and formed a dam which kept back the water of Lake Erie a whole day."—*Well Spring.*

Our brief library statistics for the past six months, follow: The sources of gifts—including the four individual funds—have been three hundred and four, namely, forty-

five members, one hundred and thirty-two persons not members, and one hundred and twenty-seven societies and institutions. From these we have received six hundred and forty-nine books, forty-six hundred and ninety pamphlets, six bound and one hundred and forty-six volumes of unbound newspapers, thirty-five photographs, fifteen manuscripts, six engravings, one medal, a case of phonographic cylinders and a collection of postage stamps; by exchange, forty-three books and thirteen pamphlets; and from the bindery, six volumes of magazines and ten volumes of newspapers; making a total of six hundred and ninety-eight books, forty-seven hundred and three pamphlets, nineteen volumes of bound and one hundred and fifty-six of unbound newspapers, etc.

Special reference is made to the following: Our associate, Mr. Henry W. Taft, has sent a valued contribution to our set of Massachusetts House Journals of 1766–67 and 1775–76. In the appended list of Givers and Gifts will be found, "Edward H. Thompson, Merida, Yucatan, a collection of phonographic cylinders, being studies in Maya." This brief entry suggests the first gift to a department which may become of great historical and linguistic importance. Mr. James L. Whitney's first gift after election to membership includes rare historical and genealogical brochures relating to towns and families in Western Massachusetts. Mr. George Tolman, secretary of the Concord, Mass., committee of five appointed March 30, 1891, "to procure the printing of the town's ancient registers of births, marriages and deaths," has placed the finished work upon our shelves. It was one of the last requests of our lamented associate Rev. Dr. Grindall Reynolds, chairman of the committee, that a copy of the work be purchased on his account and presented to this Society. John S. Keyes, Charles H. Walcott and Samuel Hoar were also members of this important committee. Mrs. Samuel Foster Haven, executrix, has deposited another instalment of Dr. Haven's

books in the alcove which bears his honored name. In one of the volumes is the following incentive to the modern librarian: "Worcester, April 30th, 1859, Presented to Samuel F. Haven, Esq., by Dexter F. Parker, as a token of his esteem and respect and deep gratitude to one who, when the donor was a humble student, kindly opened to him the rich stores under his control and gave him also the counsel, advice and instruction that were better to him than gifts of gold." Mr. Parker was at this time a member of the Massachusetts Senate and his last office was that of Major of the Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers. An arm shattered at the battle of Spottsylvania was amputated at Fredericksburg, Va.,—where it was my privilege to serve him,—but he died shortly after his removal to Washington, D. C.

Edward B. Nims, M.D.,—Dr. Pliny Earle's successor at the State Lunatic Hospital at Northampton,—has presented over eight hundred Insane Asylum reports and treatises upon insanity, and promises a further enrichment of the Earle collection. Rev. Dr. Henry T. Cheever's deposit of the *Hawaiian Gazette* has a peculiar, present value now that history is being made so rapidly in the so-called "Paradise of the Pacific." Mr. Harry V. Arny, of New Orleans, La.,—a student in the department of chemistry in the University of Göttingen,—has sent us some manuscript notes concerning Franklin's visit in 1766 to Göttingen and its University. Isaac Townsend Smith, Consul-General of Siam, has forwarded from New York thirty-nine bound volumes inscribed as follows: "A Siamese Edition of the Sacred Writings of the Southern Buddhists, the TRIPITAKA, sent as a present by His Majesty Sometch Phra Paramindr Maha Chulalonkorn Phra Chula Chom Klao, King of Siam in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of his Reign."

The librarian's report of April, 1890, stated that the average number of givers during the five previous years was two hundred and twenty-seven, namely, from forty-

four members, one hundred and four persons not members, and ninety-three societies and institutions. The record of the past five years to the present report, shows a semi-annual average of two hundred and eighty-seven givers, namely, forty-three members, one hundred and thirty persons not members, and one hundred and thirteen societies and institutions; a marked gain except within our own membership.

I have been asked to report briefly a list of the portraits which appear in the *New England Magazine*, 1831–1835. The first three volumes of this Boston periodical were edited by Joseph T. Buckingham and son, the next four by the father alone, the eighth and last by Samuel G. Howe and John O. Sargent. In our set there are ten portraits, all lithographed by Pendleton of Boston. The originals of the first two here listed were painted by Gilbert Stuart, the next three by Chester Harding, the next one by S. S. Osgood, and the last three by unnamed artists. The list is therefore 1, "John T. Kirkland, D.D., LL.D., late President of Harvard University," in volume one; 2, Paul Revere; 3, Charles Sprague, and 4, Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D., in volume three; 5, "Jacob Kuhn, Sergeant-at-Arms for 48 years in the Legislature of Massachusetts," in volume six; 6, Daniel Webster, in volume seven; 7, Hon. Edward Everett, in volume five; 8, Nathaniel Hurd, in volume three; 9, "William M. Goodrich, Organ Builder, Boston, born 1777. Painted 1820. Died 1833," in volume six; 10, James Thacher, M.D., in volume seven. While the painters before named are too well known for further mention, the reverse is true of William S. Pendleton the lithographer. I therefore quote from the manuscript diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, a former librarian of this Society, as follows:

"Sept. 11, Wed. 1834. I was introduced to W. S. Pendleton, the lithographic printer of Boston. He was the first who introduced this curious art into the United States.

He exhibited the first specimens of it in Boston in 1824. He gave me this account of himself. He was born in the city of New York in 1795, and at an early age was put to learn the trade of a copper plate engraver. His father was a native of Liverpool, England, and was Captain of a New York and Liverpool Packet, whose wife was by birth a native of England, but at the time of her marriage a widow lady residing in New York. He was lost in a storm at sea in 1798, leaving two children, W. S., above-named, and a younger son. William S. (I think his name is William), after coming of age, went in 1819 to Washington where he pursued his business as engraver for about a year when he was joined by his brother, and mounting their packs, they started in pursuit of their fortunes to unknown West. When they reached Pittsburgh, his brother returned, having been invited by the Peales of Philadelphia to make an exhibition of the 'Court of Death,' and W. S. remained there. He could find no employment in his trade and being driven to his wits, betook to teaching music. He gave lessons upon the flute and piano-forte and continued in this business until 1824, when he returned to New York and soon afterwards went to Boston where he resumed the business of engraving. A merchant by the name of Thaxter having brought out from Paris an apparatus for printing lithographing circulars, but not being acquainted with using it sufficiently to operate it to advantage was glad to dispose of to Mr. Pendleton who, by his ingenuity, was able in a short time to put it in successful operation. His brother was now in Paris, and having communicated with him upon the subject, they formed a copartnership and a press was soon established in Boston, where he has continued from 1824 to the present time. He is an intelligent and enterprising man."

The following additional items are gleaned from Boston directories of the period. In 1825, William Pendleton and Abel Bowen, the publisher of three illustrated editions of Bowen's Picture of Boston, appear in partnership as copper-plate printers in Harvard Place. In 1826, William and John Pendleton are recorded as copper-plate and lithographic printers in the same place; while from 1827 to 1830 inclusive, the "Pendleton establishment" was located

at No. 1 Graphic Court, Washington Street, opposite the end of Franklin Street and near Marlboro Hotel. In 1831, William Pendleton was at No. 1 Graphic Court, as above, but with no partner, and his house was on Norfolk Avenue. In 1832, the name appears correctly as William S. and his business location as in 1831. From 1833 to 1837 inclusive, he was at 206, 208 and 204 Washington Street, though the entry of 1837, which is the last, mentions no trade.

An attempt to list portraits in later periodicals, like *The Democratic Review*, 1838–1859, and the *American Whig Review*, 1845–1852, would serve to show how few sets of these magazines contain all the good, bad and indifferent portrayals of the prominent characters of the period. I will, however, call attention to one, which is a veritable caricature, in volume eleven of the last named periodical. It is an etched and stippled mezzotint of "John Davis, Senator from Massachusetts," who was also a President of this Society. In a later volume is inserted a slip upon which appears the following statement: "Our Massachusetts subscribers are respectfully informed that the plate of the Hon. John Davis having failed to answer the expectation of the publishers it will be engraved anew, in the best style, and a copy sent to each subscriber." This revised and improved copy appears in volume twelve opposite an engraving of John C. Calhoun. The spirit of the times is well shown by the following extract from the same number of the *Review*:—

"Our publication of portraits of distinguished Whig legislators and editors, while it has added a strong feature of interest and increased the value of our work as an authentic *chronicle* and *picture* of the age, has subjected us to some annoyance, by making us the mark for partisan abuse and sectional hatred. The publication of a Southern face, especially if it be of a statesman ardent and eminent in the protection of State rights, embitters the minds of ultra Northern partisans, who immediately surmise that the *Whig Review* has gone over to the slave interest. Equal discontent is manifested in other quarters on the appearance of the portrait of any

eminent Northern man. Our friends and judicious readers generally, will perceive that if sectional hatreds and prejudice were to be in the least regarded, it would be necessary during the present contest, to suspend the publication of memoirs and portraits altogether, and to suppress these abstracts of public speeches which are at present so important a feature in the Review. The Review in the fulfilment of its duty as a *National* Whig Journal, will not hesitate to publish, as heretofore, with entire impartiality, portraits, sometimes accompanied by memoirs, of Whig statesmen representing both extremes of opinion; nor will it decline to commemorate, without regard to party, the lives of men who, like John Caldwell Calhoun, have set a great example of public virtue."

The genealogist, whether male or female, who is primarily in search not of the missing link in the family chain, but of the unclaimed fortune overlooked by the family but discovered by some kerbstone lawyer, is still present with us. In previous reports I have had occasion to quote Ministers Everett and Phelps upon this subject. Let me now add a few paragraphs from a letter addressed to Secretary Frelinghuysen by Minister Lowell, November 15, 1884, and strongly confirmed by letter of Minister Lincoln to Secretary Blaine, February 19, 1891. Mr. Lowell says: "I hope it may be of some use in saving the money of those foolish dupes in the United States who have not already thrown it away in the more than useless pursuit of imaginary fortunes in Great Britain. They might as well seek to recover possession of a Castle in Spain through the intervention of our minister to that country. I may as well mention that in a letter received within a few days with relation to a non-existent estate there was enclosed a lithographed circular in the name of an equally non-existent firm of solicitors. I have already communicated with the police in respect of these swindlers, and have some hope that we may be able to break up one at least, of these dens of thieves." A wise, though less seriously minded, writer concludes a recent article in the *Cincinnati Gazette* as fol-

lows: "Let me give you a piece of advice. If your family are heirs to untold millions in Europe, don't breathe it to a soul. Get all the satisfaction you can out of the reflection that you ought to be in the House of Lords and the master of an old ancestral home, but keep your weekly wages in your pocket."

Among the labor-saving devices for which the librarian of to-day more or less patiently waits, are printed lists of all persons engaged in any way in the service of their country in the War of the Revolution. While private venture at Washington or elsewhere may *list* the officers of that eventful period, it would seem that each State engaged therein should now attempt an exhaustive list, with such documentary *data* as will be useful, not only to those who may desire to become Sons or Daughters of the Revolution, but to town and family historians. I bespeak your favorable consideration of efforts making and to be made in this direction.

In close connection with this subject is the Family Bible, with its registry of births, marriages and deaths. Its absence has been not infrequently a serious drawback to speedily acquiring an undoubted and honorable right of entrance into the patriotic orders to which reference has been made. The dogmatic statement that "it must have been sent down to the Antiquarian" has seldom proved true. While our card catalogue contains cross references to all such items of family history therein found, I have thought it wise to make a careful, personal examination, and to report briefly but alphabetically in print. Thus in a 12mo Bible printed by Adrian Watkins at Edinburgh, in 1756, are two entries under ADAMS and PATCH dated 1739 and 1777 respectively, and in another Edinburgh Bible of the same size from the press of Mark and Charles Kerr, in 1791, are found nine entries of births and marriages of the ALBRO family. Registered under the name of BUFFUM, in volume two of Purver's translation of the Bible, London folio 1764, will be found eleven births from 1781 to

1789 inclusive. Robinson, Pratt and Company's edition of the Bible, 8vo, New York, 1841, has ten DAVIS entries, 1830–1850. In a small quarto Irish Testament printed in 1681, eight marriages in the DEVOTION family are recorded between 1738 and 1758. In a copy of the rare Isaiah Thomas octavo Bible of 1793 were found under the name FISKE four births, three deaths and two marriages between 1795 and 1840. Twenty entries under LYNDE appear in an Oxford folio Bible of 1688 sold by Thomas Guy. A single entry, that of his birth, follows Timothy Paine's autograph in a royal quarto from which the title-pages are missing. In Teprell's quarto Bible of Boston, 1826, were found nine entries of births and deaths, 1749–1863, of the ROTH family; and Mathew Carey's 12mo Bible of 1803 has nine birth entries and two of marriage under the name of SOMMERS. In volume 2 of Poole's Annotations upon the Bible, 4th edition, folio, London, 1700, may be found a record of four marriages in the WELLS family. The disappearance of such valuables from our homes is not easily accounted for, and their reappearance is sometimes a still greater surprise. One of the volumes above mentioned was bought by your librarian at a New England book-stall for ten cents.

I close this report with a reminder of our duty and privilege, as expressed by Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Council just twenty years ago:—

"The sure and safe way then is for an antiquarian library to collect anything and everything in the shape of a book, pamphlet, broadside or ballad, on the supposition that the time may come when it will pay to winnow the chaff to find the grain. This holds good particularly in a new country, where society is not wholly formed,—is somewhat transitory in its character,—and its best reflection is found in the local literature. The habits of thought of a people are best shown in what comes from the printing-press."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Gibers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—"Tributes to the memory of Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar," including that of Mr. Adams.

ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—Sixty-six magazines; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.

BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Twenty-five historical photographs; and St. Andrew's Cross, in continuation.

BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his own publications.

BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Octogenarian Reminiscences"; and "An account of the Celebration of his eightieth birthday by the Madison Literary Club."

CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—His "Does the Income Tax apply to the Savings Banks of Massachusetts"; one book; eleven pamphlets; and five manuscripts.

CLARKE, ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—Howell's "Recollections in Ohio from 1813-1840."

DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Fourteen books; and one hundred and forty-five pamphlets.

DAVIS, Hon. J. C. BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—Tribute of the State of New York to Hon. Hamilton Fish.

GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His report as President of Johns Hopkins University, 1894; and Tributes to George Huntington Williams.

GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; forty books; three hundred and nineteen pamphlets; two periodicals, in continuation; one engraving; and one proclamation.

HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—The Edinburgh reprint of Eliot's Indian Primer of 1669; and twenty numbers of the Society's publications.

GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—His "Commencement Customs."

HILL, HAMILTON A., LL.D., Boston.—Two of his historical publications.

HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Fast and Thanksgiving Day proclamations.

HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Eight books; one hundred and sixty-one pamphlets; ten files of newspapers, in continuation; twenty-five historical photographs; four engravings; and two manuscripts.

JOHNSON, Hon. EDWARD F., Woburn.—One programme.

JONES, JOSEPH, LL.D., New Orleans, La.—His "Diphtheria, Observations on its History and Progress."

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His brochure on "Philosophical Sin."

LOVE, Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS, Jr., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England."

MASON, EDWARD G., Chicago, Ill.—One pamphlet.

MCMASTER, JOHN B., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "History of the People of the United States." Vol. IV.

MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—His "Rufus Putnam Memorial of Rutland"; and his "Old South Work."

MARSH, Hon. HENRY A., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Third Inaugural Address.

OBER, FREDERIC A., Washington, D. C.—Two pamphlets concerning the Ruins of Central America.

PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—"The Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—One book; two hundred and seventy-nine pamphlets; nine photographs; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.

PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PERRY, Right Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Ia.—The "Iowa Churchman," as issued.

PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—His report on the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, 1894.

ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—"Early Records of the Town of Providence," Vol. VII.; and third Report of the Record Commissioner, relating to Town Records.

SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Three books; five hundred and sixty-three pamphlets; six files of newspapers, in continuation; and a collection of programmes.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His Annual Report of 1895 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SMITH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—His Centennial address at Bowdoin College, 1894; and one pamphlet.

SMITH, WILLIAM A., Worcester.—Medal made in honor of Hon. John Davis.

TAFT, HENRY W., Pittsfield.—Journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1766-7 and 1775-6; and the "Journal of Doctor Jeremiah Smipleton's tour to Ohio."

THOMPSON, EDWARD H., Mérida, Yucatan.—Phonographic cylinders, being "Studies in Maya."

TYLER, MOSES COIT, LL.D., Ithaca, N. Y.—Course of Study in the President White School of History and Political Science, 1895-96.

WALKER, Gen. FRANCIS A., Boston.—His annual report of 1894 as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; with other pamphlets relating to the Institute.

WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—His "Hand-Book for Readers in the Boston Public Library"; and eleven historical and genealogical brochures.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—His "Early Printed Sources of New England History, 1602-1629"; his "Archives of Harvard College"; and his Seventeenth Annual Report as Librarian of Harvard College.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALDRICH, Mrs. P. EMORY, *Executrix*, Worcester.—Seven books; three hundred and sixty-seven pamphlets; and three files of newspapers.

AMES, JOHN G., *Superintendent*, Washington, D. C.—His Report on the Receipt, Distribution and Sale of United States Public Documents, 1894.

ANDERSON, JOHN, Jr., New York.—Sullivan's paper on the first American Bible.

ANGELL, GEORGE T., *President*.—Numbers of "Our Dumb Animals," to complete file.

ARENA PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of the "Arena."

ARNY, HARRY V., New Orleans, La.—Manuscript notes relating to Franklin's visit to Göttingen in 1766.

BAKER, CHARLES, Jr., Worcester.—"Aftermath of '93, the Tale of the Goat."

BARTON, Miss CLARA, Washington, D. C.—Her "History of the Red Cross."

BEER, WILLIAM, New Orleans, La.—Tribute to Judge Charles Gayarré.

BELL, Mrs. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—Slafter's "Memoir of Charles Henry Bell, LL.D."

BIKLÉ, PHILIP M., Gettysburg, Pa.—Index to the "Lutheran Quarterly," 1871-1880.

BOCCA, SILVIO, Rome, Italy.—Two pamphlets.

BOWES, JAMES L., Liverpool, G. B.—"Hand-Book to the Bowes Museum"; and "The Gardens of Yedo."

BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., D.D., Boston.—"Recollections of a Ministry of Forty Years"; and one pamphlet.

BROWN, WILLARD E., Honolulu, S. I.—Numbers of the "The Hawaiian Gazette."

BROWNE, FRANCIS F., Chicago, Ill.—His "Dial," as issued.

BUCK, HORACE B., Worcester.—His "Genealogy of the Samuel Buck Family."

BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Eighteen books; fifty-four pamphlets; the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation; and two proclamations.

CATHOLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of the "Catholic World."

CHAMBERLIN, HENRY H., Worcester.—His "George William Curtis and his Antecedents."

CHEEVER, Rev. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—"The Hawaiian Gazette," in continuation.

CILLEY, Gen. J. P., Rockland, Me.—Numbers of "The Monthly Bugle."

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.

CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His "Temperance Idea in Education"; and the "Catholic School and Home Magazine," as issued.

CRAM, GEORGE W., Norwalk, Conn.—"Classified List of Early American Book-Plates."

CROSS, Rev. EDWARD S., Silver City, N. M.—Numbers of "The Eagle."

CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—Three of his historical brochures.

CUTTER, CHARLES A., Northampton.—"Account of the Forbes-Earle Library, Northampton, Mass."

DAWE, G. GROSVENOR, New York.—Two historical circulars.

DAWSON, SAMUEL E., Litt. D., Ottawa, Can.—His "Voyages of the Cabots, in 1497 and 1498."

DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—Scott's Paper Money Catalogue of 1894, and Postage Stamp Catalogue of 1895; with a collection of foreign stamps.

DICKINSON, THOMAS A., Worcester.—"Memorial of Nathan B. Crocker, D.D."

DINSMORE, Miss EMMA R., Worcester.—Worcester Daily Transcript, 1851-1854; and Weekly Transcript, 1851-1855, all in binding.

DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Their "Bookman," as issued; and one pamphlet.

DOTY, DUANE, New York.—His "Libraries: Rapid increase of books in recent years."

EDWARDS, B., AND COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of their "American Contractor."

ESTABROOK, HARRY F., Worcester.—Two manuscript sermons of Rev. Dr. Charles W. Morrill.

FITTS, Miss ALICE E., Brooklyn, N. Y.—One pamphlet.

FOLSOM, ALBERT A., Boston.—Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1893–94.

FOREST AND STREAM PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Forest and Stream."

FULLER, HOMER T., Ph.D., Springfield, Mo.—Drury College Catalogue, 1894–95.

GAIDOZ, HENRI, Paris, France.—Two pamphlets.

GALE, Capt. GEORGE H. G., U. S. A.—His report as Acting Superintendent of Yosemite Park, 1894.

GARFIELD, JAMES F. D., Fitchburg.—His "Walker Genealogy"; his "Sketch of Journalism in Fitchburg"; Boise's "History of the 33d Mass. Vol. Infantry"; and Harris's "Asa Thurston."

GAZETTE COMPANY.—"Worcester Evening Gazette"; and "Ægis and Gazette," as issued.

GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Golden Rule," as issued.

GREEN, MARTIN, Worcester.—Two pamphlets.

GRIFFIN, MARTIN I. J., Baltimore, Md.—His "Journal," as issued.

HART, CHARLES HENRY, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Story of a Portrait."

HAVEN, Mrs. SAMUEL F., *Executrix*, Worcester.—Eighty-nine selected books from the Haven library.

HAZEN, Rev. HENRY A., *Secretary*, Boston.—Congregational Year Book, 1894.

HEARN, GEORGE A., New York.—His "Catalogue of Ancient Chinese Porcelain and other Curios."

HESPERIAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, St. Louis, Mo.—Numbers of the "Hesperian."

HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Eleven books; two hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; two numbers of "The Bee," 1846; and various newspapers.

HISTORICAL REGISTER PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of their "Register."

HODGE, FREDERIC W., Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His "First Discovered City of Cibola."

HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—Two pamphlets.

HORTON, NATHANIEL A., Salem.—His "Salem Daily Gazette," as issued.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Fiske's "History of the United States for Schools."

HOWSON, HUBERT, New York.—His "Contributory Infringement of Patents."

JONES, FERNANDO, Chicago, Ill.—His "Plea for a Monument at Quebec to Gen. Montgomery"; and one pamphlet.

JONES, HARRY C., New York.—Numbers of his "Quarterly Illustrator."

KIRSCHBAUM, EDWARD T., Worcester.—His "Idyls Crude."

KNOWLES, Rev. EDWARD R., D.D., Worcester.—His "Supremacy of the Spiritual."

KYES AND WOODBURY, Worcester.—Their "Calendar," as issued.

LANIER, Mrs. CHARLES, New York.—Eggleston's "Life of John Patterson, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army."

LATCH, EDWARD B., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Application of the Mosaic System of Chronology," etc.

LAWTON, Mrs. CHRISTOPHER P., Worcester, Mass.—Photograph of the Salisbury Tower, Institute Park, Worcester, Mass.

LECOFFRE, VICTOR, Paris, France.—Numbers of his "Revue Biblique Internationale."

LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Worcester.—His Report as Secretary of the Worcester County Horticultural Society, 1894.

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their "Book Reviews," as issued.

MARCHAL AND BILLARD, Paris, France.—Numbers of their "Journal."

MITTLER, E. S. UND SOHN, Berlin, Prussia.—Two pamphlets.

MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Certain Land Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida." Part 2.

MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—Newspaper articles by him; two pamphlets; and one photograph.

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—The "Nation," as issued.

NIMS, EDWARD B., M.D., Northampton.—Nine books and eight hundred and nine pamphlets relating to the Insane.

OLNEY, GEORGE W., New York.—"The World Almanac and Encyclopedia."

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Open Court," as issued.

OUR DAY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of "Our Day."

PEARSON MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, New York.—Godkin's "Tribute to Henry G. Pearson."

PELLET, Miss SARAH, North Brookfield.—Southey's "Madoc." 2 vols. 8vo.

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PEYTON, JOHN, L., Staunton, Va.—"Memoir of John H. Peyton."

PILLING, JAMES C., Washington, D. C.—His "Writings of Padre Andres de Olmos in languages of Mexico"; and Tributes to Señor Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta.

PLANT, ALFRED, St. Louis, Mo.—"History of the Plant Seed Company."

PORTER AND COATES, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of their "Literary Era."

PULLMAN, GEORGE M., Chicago, Ill.—"The Strike at Pullman."

PUTNAM, EBEN, Salem.—Numbers of his "Historical Magazine."

RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY.—The "Religious Herald," as issued.

RICE, FRANKLIN P., *Editor*, Worcester.—"Worcester Town Records 1822-1827."

RIDER, SIDNEY S., Providence, R. I.—His "Book Notes," as issued.

ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Forty-eight pamphlets; and the "United States Investor," in continuation.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," in continuation.

ROCKHILL, WILLIAM W., Washington, D. C.—His "Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892."

ROE, ALFRED S., Worcester.—His "Sketch of the Battle of Monocacy, July 6, 1864."

ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—His "Barre Gazette," as issued.

ROPES, ARTHUR, Montpelier, Vt.—The "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

ROY, J. ARTHUR, Worcester.—His "Worcester Canadien Directoire." Vols. 1-9.

SANFORD, JAMES B., Peabody.—His "Peabody Advertiser," as issued.

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—The "Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.

SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Forty-eight pamphlets.

SHOE AND LEATHER REPORTER PUBLISHERS.—Their "Reporter," as issued; and Annual of 1895.

SIAM, HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF, Bangkok, Siam.—A Siamese edition of the Sacred Writings of the Southern Buddhists,—the TRIPITAKA, in thirty-nine octavo volumes.

SIMMONS, ALBERT F., Worcester.—Forty-three magazines.

SKIFF, FREDERICK J. V., *Director*, Chicago, Ill.—"An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Columbian Museum."

SKILLIN, Mrs. SAMUEL, Worcester.—Two books.

SOULE, NICHOLAS E., Worcester.—Four biographies; and one pamphlet.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Worcester Daily Spy"; and "Massachusetts Spy," as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Three of his poems.

STEINMAN, ANDREW J., *Editor*, Lancaster, Pa.—The Centennial number of the "Lancaster Intelligencer," 1794–1894.

STOCK, ELLIOT, London, G. B.—The "Antiquary" of January, 1895.

SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—Seventh Report on the Custody and Condition of Public Records.

TOLMAN, GEORGE, *Secretary*, Concord.—"Concord, Mass., Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1635–1850."

TRACY, FRANK, Worcester.—Colored lithograph of Gen. William Booth.

TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—His "Collector," as issued.

TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—The "Groton Landmark," as issued.

UPHAM, WILLIAM P., Salem.—His "Memoir of Henry Wheatland, M.D."

VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

VOORHEES, Hon. DANIEL W., Terre Haute, Ind.—Fifty-two "Bulletins, being replies to tariff inquiries."

W P I EDITORS.—The "W P I," as issued.

WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—Four of his Congressional speeches.

WALL, CALEB A., Worcester.—Sixteen pamphlets.

WERNER COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Their "Self-Culture," Vol. 1, No. 1.

WESBY'S SONS, JOSEPH S., Worcester.—One book.

WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—The "Home Missionary," in continuation.

WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Journal of Zoophily," as issued.

WHITNEY, Rev. ELBERT W., Milford.—Two of his brochures; Knowlton's "Elements of Modern Materialism"; and five manuscript sermons of Rev. Elnathan Wight preached in Bellingham, Mass., 1750–1761.

WHITTEMORE, ELI J., Worcester.—"History and Genealogy of the Watson Family."

WOODWARD, PATRICK H., *Secretary*, Hartford, Conn.—Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Hartford Board of Trade.

YALE REVIEW PUBLISHERS.—Their "Review," as issued.

YOUNG, FRANCIS E., Worcester.—A Collection of American postage stamps.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Proceedings of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Proceedings of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.—Annals of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The "Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—Report of 1894.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Records of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—The Forty-first Annual Report of the Association.

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION.—Reports of the Association, as issued.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Bulletin of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—The "Sailor's Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Numbers of "The Citizen."

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

AMHERST COLLEGE.—Catalogue of 1894–95.

BOARD OF MISSIONS OF PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—Fifty-three numbers of the "Spirit of Missions."

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board; and "Statements of Mortality," as issued.

BOSTON RECORD COMMISSIONERS.—Report of the Commissioners, containing record of births, 1700–1800.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, Jan. 8, 1895.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Catalogue of Bowdoin, 1894–95.

BROOKLINE LIBRARY.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—Bulletin of the Library, as issued.

CARLETON COLLEGE.—Numbers of "Popular Astronomy."

CAYUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, No. 11.

CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION.—Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Board.

CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1894; and Bulletin, as issued.

CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES.—"Early American Poetry. New England's Crisis."

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Numbers of the "Open Shelf."

COLORADO COLLEGE.—The College publications, as issued.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—The College publications, as issued.

CONCORD, N. H., CITY OF.—"Concord Town Records, 1732–1820."

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Ninety books; and fifty-two pamphlets.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Two books; and five pamphlets.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, with maps, as issued.

UNITED STATES WEATHER BUREAU.—Two department publications.

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WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—The "Mortality Reports," as issued; eleven books; and three hundred and forty-one pamphlets, chiefly of a sanitary nature.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-three files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Forty-three books; seven hundred and fifty-two pamphlets; and eighty-two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER KEELEY INSTITUTE.—Pamphlets relating to the work of the Institute.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—"Worcester Town Records, 1822–27."

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THE LAW OF ADULTERY AND IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENTS—WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PENALTY OF WEARING A LETTER AFFIXED TO THE CLOTHING.

BY ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

At the October meeting of the Society, I stated that I had recently seen certain papers connected with a criminal case in which the culprit was, in 1743, sentenced to wear a letter sewed upon his outer garment; and I asked if any of my fellow-members could tell me, either how early in the history of the Colony, or how late in the days of the Province, sentences of this character were imposed. Some interest naturally attaches to the question from the great popularity of Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter, the scene of which is laid in Boston, about 1650. At that time the crime of Adultery was included upon the Statute Books of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in the list of capital offences; nor was there any modification of this law, until the re-organization of the General Court under the William and Mary Charter. Of this fact, Hawthorne evidently became aware during the progress of his work, and to preserve the story from criticism, to which it would otherwise have been subject, he put the following words into the mouth of a townsman, speaking in the market-place concerning the law and the magistrates: "The penalty thereof is death. But in their great mercy and tenderness of heart, they have doomed Mistress Prynne to stand only a space of three hours on the platform of the pillory, and then and thereafter, for the remainder of her natural life to wear a mark of shame upon her bosom."

At the time when I propounded the foregoing question, I thought it quite possible that among my hearers there might be more than one, who could, on the spur of the moment, furnish such information as there was of interest in the matter, and I did not intend to bring the subject again before the Society. Although no answers to my query were made at the meeting, I subsequently received aid in the way of direct information and suggestions,[1] which led me to make a more extended examination of the subject than I originally contemplated. What I have found, I propose now to tell you, and, in addition thereto, I shall add a few words descriptive of a fruitless attempt which I have made to determine the origin of this peculiar method of punishment.

Hawthorne, in his Scarlet Letter, associates the imposition of the penalty of wearing a letter conspicuously super-imposed upon the outer garment, with the crime of Adultery. It is my purpose to trace the legislation in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay relative to Adultery; to show in what instances punishments, either similar or analogous to the penalty described in the Scarlet Letter, were imposed in that Colony; to point out certain statutes in Plymouth and in the Connecticut Colonies having penalties of a similar character; and to discuss the question whether punishments of this nature originated in this country, or formed a part of the penal discipline in force in the seventeenth century in England.

The verisimilitude of Hawthorne's account, in the Introduction to the Scarlet Letter, of his discovery of the cloth letter and the manuscript containing the record of the doings and sufferings of Hester Prynne, has doubtless deceived many people. The realism of this account may

[1] I am under obligations to our associates, Franklin B. Dexter, Justin Winsor, John McK. Merriam, Charles J. Hoadly and Dr. Samuel A. Green. I wish also to acknowledge the courteous assistance which I have received at the Social Law Library, the Harvard College and the Harvard Law School Libraries.

have been strengthened by the attempt, in the story itself, to show, through the medium of a speaker, why the penalty therein described differs from the law of the land. In all probability, however, the average reader would overlook this passage, and rise from the perusal of the book under the impression that the narrative was founded upon fact.

It may be as well, therefore, to state at the outset, that Mr. Lathrop, in his "Study of Hawthorne," evidently considers the Introduction as a part of the fiction. "A friend," he says, "asked Hawthorne if he had documentary evidence for the particular punishment, and he replied that he had actually seen it mentioned in the town records of Boston, though with no attendant details."[1] Mr. Lathrop, in a note, points out that Hawthorne may have seen the statutory provision for the punishment of Adultery, which was passed in Plymouth Colony, in 1658. The inherent impossibility of anything of the kind being found in the town records of Boston, might, perhaps, pardon the neglect to test the accuracy of the statement attributed to Hawthorne, but I concluded that the examination of the Indexes of the published volumes was such an easy matter that I could hardly afford to omit it. Finding nothing there, I asked Mr. William H. Whitmore, the editor of the series, if he had ever heard of anything of the sort. Mr. Whitmore, while disclaiming the positive knowledge which would permit him to speak authoritatively, was strongly of opinion that no such punishments were inflicted by the town or the selectmen.

Mr. Lathrop calls attention to the fact that Hawthorne had in "Endicott and the Red Cross," one of the Twice-told Tales, already introduced "a young woman, with no mean share of beauty, whose doom it was to wear the letter A on the breast of her gown, in the eyes of all the world and her own children." Among the various forms of

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[1] "A Study of Hawthorne," by George Parsons Lathrop, Boston, 1876.

ignominious punishment enumerated in this story, one, the exhibition of the label A WANTON GOSPELLER, upon the breast of a culprit, makes it certain that Hawthorne in addition to his knowledge of the law which has already been suggested, also possessed some information as to the contents of the Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and this carries with it a presumption of knowledge of the Plymouth Records. If the statement attributed to him, in which he gives the Boston Town Records as his authority for the form of punishment, is well founded, it would indicate that he obtained his information through some friend,[1] and was careless in his description, perhaps ignorant of the exact authority. In the story itself the exigencies of the novelist may have compelled him to adopt Boston in preference to Plymouth for the scene of action.

The evolution of a code of laws in this Colony is an interesting bit of study and has a bearing on this question. The first step taken to formulate a method of procedure is to be found in the record of the first Court of Assistants held at Charlestown, August 23, 1630. Provision was made at this session for the appointment of Justices of the Peace, whose jurisdiction for the reformation of abuses and the punishment of offenders was co-ordinate with that of Justices of the Peace in England.

Mr. Whitmore in his bibliographical introduction to the Colonial Laws of Massachusetts,[2] has set forth with great clearness, the pressure on the part of the people for a more distinct assertion of their obligations and their rights, than was to be found in the vague generalities of English custom. He has also shown the resistance which this pressure met with on the part of the magistrates; the

[1] He refers to some of the publications of Joseph B. Felt. The substance of the special information essential for his purpose, could have been culled from Felt's books. In addition to this, however, the two men must have met in Salem, and talked about this topic.

[2] "The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts," re-print, Edition 1672. Boston, 1890, pp. 4, et seq.

postponement of reports; the appointment of new committees, and the various other devices to which resort was made under semblance of great activity in carrying out the will of the people, for the purpose of preventing the premature adoption of a code of laws. The quotation which he gives from Winthrop[1] furnishes the key to the cause of this delay. The Charter restrained the Company from passing laws repugnant to the laws of England. English laws were, however, based upon custom. Opportunity must therefore be afforded for certain customs to ripen, which, if boldly proclaimed in the form of laws, might be said to be repugnant to English laws.

While the elaboration of a Civil and Criminal code was thus held in abeyance, the Court of Assistants was brought face to face with various offences. Some of these, being recognized violations of English as well as of moral law, were easy to deal with, while others, infractions of the Mosaic code, but not rated as rank penal offences in English practice, were in their very nature troublesome. Among the latter was Adultery, the estimate of which, as a crime in English eyes, may be inferred from the language of Blackstone, who, after alluding to the fact that Parliament, in 1650, classed Adultery and Incest among Felonies, goes on to say:[2] "At the restoration, when men from an abhorrence of the hypocrisy of the late times fell into a contrary extreme of licentiousness, it was not thought proper to renew a law of such unfashionable rigor.[3] And

[1] Winthrop, I., pp. 322, 323.

[2] "Commentaries on the Laws of England," by Sir William Blackstone, Knt. Philadelphia, MDCCLXXII., IV., p. 64.

[3] The struggle to determine the position of Adultery among criminal or social offences is indicated, but not fully set forth, in the Journals of the House of Lords and Commons. Notwithstanding the flippant manner in which Blackstone speaks of the "unfashionable rigor" of the Act of 1650, it is evident that during the entire century which preceded the passage of that Act, there had been persistent remonstrance against the silence of the criminal code on this subject. The first movement was in the House of Lords in the time of Henry VIII. and was directed against "women proved of adultery." In the time of Edward VI. a "Bill for Adultery" was introduced in the Commons.

these offences have been ever since left to the feeble coercion of the Spiritual Court, according to the rules of the Canon law; a law which has treated the offence of Incontinence with a degree of tenderness and lenity." Although coercion was left to the Spiritual Courts, yet the Temporal Courts had jurisdiction of the civil injury, and the husband had an action of trespass *vi et armis* against the adulterer.[1]

Pike, in his History of Crime,[2] speaks of the Act of 1650 as a "very famous and much ridiculed Act for the punishment of Incontinence." . . . "The Judges on circuit and the Justices of the Peace now dealt with the offences which had previously been under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

The same spirit which led the English Parliament in 1650[3] to class Incest and Adultery among felonies found expression among the law makers of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay at a much earlier date. At a Court of Assistants held at Boston, September 6th, 1631,[4] the question was propounded, "Whether adultery either with English or Indian, shall not be punished with death?" The matter was referred to the next Court. On the 18th

In the days of Elizabeth one was read for the first time in the House of Lords. In the early part of the reign of James I. a bill for the better repressing "the detestable crime of Adultery" was read twice in the House of Lords, and referred to a committee on which there were five Bishops. The committee referred the bill back to their Lordships, being of opinion that it concerned particular persons, more than the public good. The subject came up in the reign of Charles I., in 1625, in the House of Commons; re-appeared in 1626; again showed itself in 1628; and again in the Long Parliament, 1644. This time the committee were instructed to provide that the bill be put in due and lively execution, but, although the House had the subject up at some time during each year for six consecutive years, the bill did not get through until 1650.

[1] "Commentaries on the Laws of England," by Sir William Blackstone, Knt. Philadelphia, MDCCLXXII., I., p. 139.

[2] "A History of Crime in England," by Luke Owen Pike, M.A., London, 1876, II., p. 182.

[3] "A Collection of Acts and Ordinances of general use made in the Parliament, begun and held at Westminster, the 3d day of November, Anno 1640, and since, unto the adjournment of the Parliament begun and holden the 17th of September, Anno 1650," etc., etc. By Henry Scobell, etc., etc., London, 1658, Chapter 10.

[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 91.

of October[1] of the same year, at a Court at which were present the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and five Deputies, it was ordered "that if any man shall have carnal copulation with another man's wife, they both shall be punished by death."

The question whether the penalty of this Act should be enforced was fairly presented at a Quarter Court, held at Boston, June 6, 1637.[2] Three criminals, two men and one woman, were arraigned for Adultery. No action was taken upon these cases at this term of the Court, but, as we may infer from Winthrop,[3] the prisoners were remanded to gaol. August 1st, there was a session of the General Court.[4] September 5th the Quarter Court[5] assembled, but in consequence of the session of the synod at Newtown, adjourned without transacting any business. September 7th the General Court met and adjourned to September 26th. The case was finally taken up at a session of the Quarter Court at Boston, Sept. 19, 1637,[6] at which time the culprits were convicted. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which prosecutions were carried through and sentences executed in those days, the prisoners were not sentenced at this term of Court. At a general term of the Court[7] held at Newtown, March 12, 1637/8, the issue was finally faced and sentence was imposed upon "the three adulterers" that they be "severely whipped and banished, never to return again upon pain of death."

The next paragraph in the Record, to that containing the sentence, reads as follows: "The law against adultery made by the Particular Court in October, 1631, is confirmed, that whosoever lieth with another man's wife, both shall be punished by death; and this is to be promulgated." Thus the law stood until October 7th, 1640,[8] when at a

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[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 92.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., p. 197.
[3] Winthrop, I., p. 257.
[4] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 200.
[5] *Ibid.*, I., p. 202.
[6] *Ibid.*, I., pp. 202, 203.
[7] *Ibid.*, I., p. 225.
[8] *Ibid.*, I., p. 301.

General Court, the question was again introduced and an Act passed in the following language: "The first law against adultery, made by the Court of Assistants, Anno 1631, is declared to be abrogated; but the other, made March, 1637/8, by the General Court, to stand in force."

It is obvious from this review of the legislation upon the subject, all of which took place prior to the adoption of the Body of Liberties, that the Court of Assistants, which took the matter into consideration at one term of Court, but hesitated to act, had, in the interim between the two sessions, secured the necessary votes for the passage of the Act which bears date October 18, 1631. This Act was presumably the law of the Colony until the occasion came for its enforcement, when the General Court postponed action from session to session, and finally imposed sentences which were certainly not in accord with the penalty prescribed by the Act.

The long detention in prison of the three criminals whose case had occupied so much of the time of the Court, and the perplexing nature of the questions raised as to the legality of the Act, attracted sufficient attention to these cases for Winthrop to record in his journal[1] the exact nature of the law points raised at the trial. Apparently there were two objections to the legality of the Act;—First, that which was suggested in the Act of 1640, viz., that it was passed at a Court of Assistants and not at a General Court. Second, that there was some defect in the publication of the law. The Elders, "who had been requested to deliver their judgments," were of opinion that if the law had been sufficiently published, the death penalty ought to be enforced. The Elders had no scruples on account of the character of the Court at which the Act was passed, but the General Court itself, in view of the fact that there had been some defect in the matter of the publication, and further, that not only some of the Deputies, but others also doubted the

[1] Winthrop, I., p. 257.

power of the Court of Assistants to pass the Act, thought it was "safest that these persons should be whipped and banished." If our examination of this preliminary stage of criminal practice in Massachusetts has failed to reveal much of value in connection with the subject under investigation, it will at least be conceded that it has brought us in contact with a remarkable instance of the regard of the Courts for the technical rights of the accused.

Between the session of the Court of October 7, 1640, and that held December 10th, 1641, there is no record of any change in the penalty for Adultery. At this last session the Body of Liberties was adopted. The ninety-fourth section of this code is devoted to the enumeration of twelve Capital Offences, of which the ninth reads as follows: "If any person committeth adultery with a married or espoused wife, the adulterer and adulteress shall surely be put to death." It is repeated in the same language in the laws of 1660, and again in the laws of 1672, and there is no record of any act repealing or amending it, so far as I know. It may therefore be assumed to have been the law of the land so long as the colonial criminal code remained in force.

At the session of the General Court, begun and held at Boston, May 30, 1694, an Act was passed against Adultery and Polygamy, which was published on the 20th of June. The second section in this Act is as follows:—

"And if any man shall commit adultery, the man and woman that shall be convicted of such crime before their Majesties' justices of assize and general gaol delivery, shall be set upon the gallows by the space of an hour, with a rope about their neck, and the other end cast over the gallows; and in the way from thence to the common gaol shall be severely whipped, not exceeding forty stripes each. Also every person and persons so offending shall forever after wear a capital A, of two inches long, and proportionate bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to

their clothes, and sewed upon their upper garments, on the outside of their arm, or on their back, in open view. And if any person or persons, having been convicted and sentenced for such offence, shall at any time be found without their letter so worn, during their abode in this province, they shall, by warrant from a justice of the peace, be forthwith apprehended, and ordered to be publicly whipped, not exceeding fifteen stripes, and so from time to time, *toties quoties*."

This law remained unaltered upon the Statute Books during the days of the Province.

I have no positive information of any conviction under this Act, but I have seen in the Court files in 1743,[1] a sentence imposed upon a person convicted of Incest, in which the penalty was in substance the same, the only change being that the letter which the convict was ordered to wear upon his upper garment was I instead of A.

Incest, if of the particular instances made capital by the Law of God, was included in the Act for punishing capital offenders, which was passed October 29, 1692.[2] The crimes and offences included in this Act were declared to be felony and all persons legally convicted of having committed any of them were to be adjudged to suffer the pain of death. A reference in the margin of the printed law indicates that an enumeration of the particular instances of Incest which were thus made subject to the death penalty might be found in Leviticus, Chapter XX., beginning at the eleventh verse. This Act was disallowed by the Privy Council, August 22, 1695, because some of the Capital Offences, and among these Incest,[3] "were conceived in very uncertain and doubtful terms," and for the further reason that the death penalty was not conformable to English law; but, even before the Privy Council had refused

[1] Suffolk Files, 360—56, 557.
[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, I., Ch. 19, pp. 55, 56.
[3] Letter from Privy Council quoted, *Ibid.*, I., p. 56.

its approval of the Act, the General Court would seem to have concluded that the law, so far as it applied to Incest, needed revision. On the 19th of June of the year 1695,[1] an Act was passed to prevent incestuous marriages, and three days thereafter was published. The Preamble opens: "Although this Court doth not take in hand to determine what is the whole breadth of the divine commandment respecting unlawful marriages, yet for preventing that abominable dishonesty and confusion which might otherwise happen," Be it enacted, etc., etc.

The first section of the Act specifies the degrees of kindred between which marriage is forbidden, following in this regard the English Ecclesiastical Law. The second section prescribes the penalty for the violation of the Act, the details in which are identical with those fixed for the punishment of adulterers, except that the cloth letter is to be an I instead of an A. The remainder of the Act has no bearing upon the question under consideration. It was under this Act that, in 1743, the trial, conviction and punishment took place, to which I have alluded. The substantial portions of the sentence in this case were in the following words:[2]

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY MIDDLESEX S S. } GEORGE the SECOND by the Grace of God King * * * * * * *

To Richard Foster, Jun'r, Esq'r, Sheriff * * * * * * WHEREAS ANDREW FLEMING of GROTON * * * has been convicted by verdict of * * * * * * * and by the consideration of said justices has been adjudged to suffer as follows, viz.; That the said Andrew Fleming be set upon the gallows in our said County by the space of an hour with a rope about his neck, and the other end cast over the gallows and in the way from thence to the common gaol be severely whipt forty stripes and that he forever

[1] Letter from Privy Council quoted, Massachusetts Province Laws, I., p. 208.

[2] Suffolk Files, 360—56, 557.

after wear a capital I, two inches long and of a proper proportionate bigness, cut out in cloth of a contrary color to his coat, and sewed upon his upper garment on the outside of his arm, or upon his back in open view * *.

Then follows the return of the sheriff, setting forth the execution of the sentence, so far as he was responsible for the same.

Our Associate, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has been kind enough to point out to me that an account of the proceedings under this sentence was printed in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* of Thursday, February 10, 1743, as follows:

"Last Friday, one Andrew Flemming, of Groton, was convicted at the Assizes held at Charlestown, of Incest with his own daughter, for which he was sentenced to sit upon the gallows at Cambridge with a rope about his neck, and then to be whip'd forty stripes in the way from the gallows to the prison. And yesterday he received his punishment. The daughter has absconded."

The review of the law of Adultery which has been presented shows that under the Colonial code, death was the only prescribed penalty. The various forms of ignominious punishment provided in the Province law for the crime of Incest were enforced in one instance, to our positive knowledge. Perhaps an extended search of the Court files would reveal other convictions and sentences of this nature.

The question naturally arises, was the death penalty ever enforced for the crime of adultery? There was a case presented by the Grand Jury for the consideration of a Quarter Court,[1] held at Boston, March 7, 1636/7, in which the offence of the defendant, although not described as adultery, must, if the adjectives used in the record were correctly applied, have closely resembled that crime. The defendant was evidently found guilty of something, for she was "seriously admonished to repent and walk humbly,

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 193.

chastely and holily." At a Quarter Court, Sept. 7, 1641,[1] a man, for his adulterous practices, was censured to be sent to the gallows with a rope about his neck, and to sit upon the lather[2] an hour, the rope's end thrown over the gallows, so to return to prison.

At a General Court held at Boston, September 8th, 1642,[3] a message was sent to Meantonomo, "to acquaint him that one Michewese, an Indian about Providence, did lately attempt to ravish the wife of one Nich's Woode, of Dorchester, and to desire that he may be sent to us to be punished, not with death, but with some other punishment."

In 1648,[4] a woman was acquitted, on two several charges of adultery, but was sentenced to be severely whipped for "her evil and adulterous behavior and swearing."

In 1654,[5] a woman accused of adultery, though not found guilty of the fact according to law, was found guilty of shameful and unchaste behavior.

I should be inclined to infer from the foregoing and from the character of some ignominious sentences imposed in certain aggravated cases of rape and seduction, that the Court was reluctant to enforce the death penalty, and allowed the issue in some of the cases to be so framed as to prevent the disclosure of the real charge, were it not for the Record of the Court of Assistants printed by Mr. Whitmore in the preface to the reprint of the Colonial Laws from the Edition of 1672.[6] We have there the proceedings at a Court held in Boston, March 5, 1643/4, where a man and a woman, each being found guilty of adultery, were condemned to death.

Cotton Mather furnishes in his Magnalia testimony on this point, which goes one step beyond the record of the

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[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 335.
[2] Ladder.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, II., p. 23.
[4] *Ibid.*, II., p. 243.
[5] *Ibid.*, IV., pt. I., p. 193.
[6] "The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts," re-print, Edition 1672, p. xlii.

Court. The Sixth Book has an Appendix which contains the history of certain criminals who were executed. The second of Mather's criminals was an adulterer from Weymouth. "By the law of this Country," says Mather, "Adultery was then a capital transgression, as it hath been in many countries. And this poor adulterer could not escape the punishment which the law provided." Among the various instances cited by the author of Magnalia of crimes for which offenders forfeited their lives, there are several in which Adultery formed a part of the offence, but in the case cited above, the statement is direct that the man was executed for Adultery.

If we turn now to the law of Plymouth Colony upon this subject, an examination of the record will show that some doubt existed, when the list of capital offences was made out, whether Adultery should be included in this list, or classed with Fornication, which was to be punished at the discretion of the Magistrates. Adultery was written in the Records in the same paragraph with, and preceding Fornication.[1] Then the word Adultery was crossed out, and after the words "Treason," "Murder," "Witchcraft," "Arson," "Rape," etc., offences grouped under the heading "Liable to death," the words "Adultery to be punished," were written in. Precisely what was intended by this it is difficult to say, but we can ascertain from the records how offenders of this class were punished.

In 1639,[2] a woman, who was found guilty of Adultery, of a somewhat aggravated character, was sentenced to be whipped at a cart-tail through the streets, and to wear a badge upon her left sleeve during her abode within the government; if found at any time abroad without the badge she was to be burned in the face with a hot iron.

In 1641,[3] a man and a woman convicted of this offence

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[1] Plymouth Colony Records, Laws, 1623-1682, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., p. 132.
[3] *Ibid.*, II., p. 28.

were sentenced both to be severely whipped immediately, at the public post, and that they should wear (while they remained in the Government) two letters, viz., an "A D," for Adulterers, daily, upon the outside of their uppermost garment, in a most eminent place thereof.

In 1658,[1] it was enacted by the Court and the authority thereof that whosoever should commit Adultery, should be severely punished by whipping two several times, viz.: once while the Court was in being at which they were convicted of the fact, and the second time as the Court should order, and likewise to wear two capital letters, viz.: "A D" cut out in cloth and sewed in their uppermost garments on their arm or back; and if at any time they should be taken without the said letters, while they were in the Government so worn, to be forthwith taken and publicly whipped.

Our associate, Charles J. Hoadly, in response to the question which I put at the last meeting, communicated to our President, on the 7th of November last, certain information relative to punishments of this class in Connecticut, which, by permission, I quote:

"In Massachusetts an Act for punishing Incest was passed in 1695 (Acts & Records of the Province, I., 209). This law was introduced into our Connecticut Laws in the revision of 1702 (p. 73). It is found in the edition of 1715 (p. 74); in the revision of 1750, or edition of 1769 (p. 145); in the revision of 1784 (p. 136); in the revision of 1796 (p. 287); and in the edition of 1808 (p. 479). It is referred to in Swift's System, Vol. II., p. 329. I do not find any formal repeal of this law, but it was dropped (at least that part of it requiring the convict to wear a capital I two inches long on the outside of his upper garment) at the revision of 1821."

The review which we have taken of the statutory law in the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut bearing upon the subject, and of sentences

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, Laws, 1623-1682, p. 95.

imposed in Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth, has prepared us for an examination of ignominious punishments similar in character to the letter penalty, which were inflicted during Colonial times, for offences other than Adultery. I call attention to the limitation of the proposed examination, since it does not include mutilations nor brandings, both of which were common methods of punishment. At the very outset of such an examination we encounter the fact that the temporary exposure of a criminal with a label around his neck indicating the character of the offence for which he was thus exposed, was not only common, but was adopted by the General Court as a suitable penalty for certain offences, and was incorporated in several of the penal statutes. In presenting the examples which I have selected from the records of punishments of this sort, I shall not endeavor to classify them in any way, but shall simply preserve the chronological order in which they are recorded.

September, 3, 1633,[1] a man was sentenced to pay a fine and stand with a white sheet of paper on his back, whereon "Drunkard" is written in great letters, and to stand therewith so long as the Court shall think meet, for abusing himself shamefully with drink, and enticing his neighbor's wife to incontinency and other misdemeanors.

March 4, 1633/4,[2] at a Court of Assistants, one Robert Coles, for drunkenness, was sentenced to be disfranchised, and to wear about his neck, and to hang about his outer garment a D made of red cloth, set upon white, to continue for a year and not to leave it off at any time when he should come among company. Certain penalties were prescribed for failure to observe the conditions of the sentence, and he was also ordered to wear the D outwards and was enjoined to appear at the next General Court, and to continue there till the Court should be ended.

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 107.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., p. 112.

We have in this case a cloth letter, the color to be red, to be made conspicuous by being set upon white ground. It is not, however, to be sewed upon the outer garment, but is to be suspended about the neck. It is always to be worn when the offender is in the presence of other people, and he is always to keep the red letter on the white ground exposed to public view.

April 5, 1636,[1] William Perkins, for drunkenness, and other misdemeanors, was sentenced, to stand at the next General Court, one hour in public view, with a white sheet of paper on his breast, having a great D made upon it. It was further provided that he should attend the pleasure of the Court till he should be dismissed. In view of the fact that Perkins had committed other misdemeanors in addition to his offence of drunkenness, the paper label and the brief public exposure are in striking contrast to the continuous character of the punishment imposed upon Coles.

March 5th, 1638/9,[2] a man, for attempting lewdness with divers women, was censured to be severely whipped at Boston and at Ipswich and to wear the letter V upon his uppermost garment until the Court do discharge him. The capital letter which was ordered to be worn by the culprit was probably initial, and in this case may perhaps have indicated that the offence was uncleanness.

September 3d, 1639,[3] a man for stealing, was censured to be put forth to service for three or four years, except he could procure £10; also he was to have a T set upon his uppermost garment. This sentence is defective, in that it neither specifies what the letter is to be made of, nor how it is to be attached to, or exposed upon the person, nor how long the convict was to wear it. At this term of Court, the man sentenced in March to wear a letter V was, upon his good carriage, discharged from the penalty which had formerly been enjoined upon him.

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[1]Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 172. [2]*Ibid.*, I., p. 248. [3]*Ibid.*, I., p. 268.

December 3, 1639,[1] two women were each sentenced to wear a paper in consequence of light behavior.

June 4, 1642,[2] a man and his wife were enjoined to stand an hour on the 16th of June, in the market place, with each of them a paper with great letters on their hats. Presumably these great letters were in some way to convey information to beholders of the character of the offence of the convicts.

March 29, 1681,[3] two females for incest were sentenced to be imprisoned a night, to be whipped or pay £5, and to stand or sit during the services of the next lecture day, on a high stool, in the middle alley of the Salem Meeting House, having a paper on their heads, with their crime written in large letters.

Josselyn, in his Two Voyages,[4] says: "An English woman suffering an Indian to have carnal knowledge of her had an Indian cut out in red cloth sewed upon her right arm, and was injoyned to wear it twelve moneths." Josselyn left New England on his return from his second visit in 1671. His work was published in 1674. This punishment may have occurred at any time prior to 1671. The details of this sentence are specific. The Indian was to be cut out of cloth; the color was to be red; the badge to be worn upon the right arm. The period of the punishment was twelve months. It may have been inflicted in either Plymouth Colony or Massachusetts Bay.

March 5, 1656/7,[5] a woman was sentenced in Plymouth Colony for her unclean and lascivious behavior and blasphemous words to be publicly whipped at Plymouth, and afterwards at Taunton, on a public training-day, and to

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[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, I., p. 284.

[2] "The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts," reprint, Edition 1672, xxxiii.

[3] "The Annals of Salem from its first Settlement," by Joseph B. Felt. Salem, 1827, p. 270.

[4] Josselyn's "Account of Two Voyages to New England." Veazie's reprint, Boston, 1865, pp. 178, 179.

[5] Plymouth Colony Records, III., pp. 111, 112.

wear a Roman B cut out of red cloth, and sewed to her upper garment on her right arm. Here we have the red letter attached to the outer garment.

The analysis of the Massachusetts Records in connection with this subject could not be considered complete if it failed to reveal certain penal statutes, in which the punishment proposed for offenders, in some respects resembled that which was laid down in the Plymouth statute against adultery. November 4, 1646,[1] it was ordained that a Christian who disturbed congregational services should be fined £5 or "stand two hours openly upon a block 4 foot high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this—A WANTON GOSPELLER—written in capital letters, that others may fear and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickedness." Apparently interruptions by those who were not Christians were not conceived to be of sufficient importance to be included within the scope of this Act.

May 27th, 1652, an Act was passed which was directed against those who should wittingly or willingly deface or rend any record or writing in any public office. The penalty was that the offender should pay treble the damages that might arise, and a fine of equal amount to the State or that he should suffer two months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize, or "stand in the pillory two hours in the Boston market, with a paper marked over his head in capital letters A DEFACER OF RECORDS."

There is no need that I should recapitulate what has been presented concerning these punishments in order that we may analyze them. It will be plain even to a hasty reader that the purpose of the badges, letters or labels which the convicts were compelled to wear was to convey information to the beholder of the exact offence committed by the wearer. However ignominious it may have been to sit in the market place for an hour with a paper label upon

[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, II., p. 179.

the person signifying that the bearer had violated some colonial ordinance, it is clear that such punishment as this was insignificant when compared with the requirement that the token of crime should be made of more lasting material, and should be conspicuously worn for a continuous period, of such length that the wearer would necessarily become associated, in the minds of the whole community, with a badge of ignominy. It is also evident that in the attempt to utilize this form of punishment, it was spread over so much territory in its application that in some cases offenders were to be punished by wearing placards which it would have been their pride and their pleasure, instead of their shame, to parade in public places under any and all circumstances. It is quite conceivable that the religious enthusiast who felt it to be his duty to interrupt devotional exercises, either for the purpose of expressing his dissent from the dogmas promulgated from the pulpit, or with intent to protest against the ecclesiastical tyranny of the synod, would glory in the opportunity to pose as a martyr under the title of a wanton gospeller. That which was intended to be a source of mortification would be a crown of glory. A form of punishment, which, within certain limits, would act as a deterrent for crime, might be, and probably was in this colony, extended in its application beyond the limits of its efficacy.

It would be natural to suppose that the form in which we find this punishment laid down in the Act of 1694 against Adultery, a form apparently in use, in Plymouth Colony, as early as 1639, must have been of transatlantic origin. I certainly was of that opinion and thought that I could easily quote from English authority some instance which should correspond in substance with the details of the penalty imposed in that Act. Failure on my part to accomplish this result may raise in the mind of some person, who shared my expectation, a question as to the character of my investigation. The answer to this would

be that the search, though not exhaustive, was broad enough to have disclosed some instance of the letter penalty if such punishments were ever common in England.[1]

It certainly was not a statutory penalty. No suggestion of anything of the kind is to be traced through any of the abridgments of the Statutes. Nor is there record of any punishment of this sort, in the form books prepared for the use of Justices of the Peace.[2]

Branding or stigmatizing is referred to, and the stocks, the pillory, and the ducking-stool find mention, but no word of temporary exposure with a label affixed to the person, a form of punishment quite common at that time in England.

If the penalty was not statutory it might perhaps be found laid down as a penance in the canons of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Pike, as we have already seen, says that before the statute of 1650, cases of Adultery came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A writer about the beginning of the last century treating of the laws against immorality and profaneness says:[3] "But the canon . . . . . has bound you to inform of all manner of vice, profaneness and debauchery, requiring you faithfully to present all and every the offenders in adultery, whoredom, incest, drunkenness, profane swearing, or any other uncleanness and

[1] A natural suggestion is that it might have come from Holland. I have not as yet found any person who could authoritatively say whether any such custom existed in that country. Inasmuch as many of the early Colonial Laws were based upon the Mosaic Code, there was a possibility that there might have been some Jewish method of punishment upon which it was founded, but an examination of a Biblical Concordance failed to reveal anything of the sort.

[2] Among the law books ordered by the General Court, November 11, 1647 (Massachusetts Colony Records, II., p. 212), was Dalton's "Justice of the Peace." Dalton frequently cites Lambard, who compiled an older book of the same sort. I have examined both of these books, as well as others of the same character.

[3] "A second Essay upon the Execution of the Laws against Immorality and Profaneness," etc., etc., by John Disney, Esq., London, 1710, preface, p. xxvii.

wickedness." These were the offences which would naturally have been punished in this ignominious manner; but in the Codex Juris Ecclesiastici[1] it was laid down that "sometimes corporal penance and sometimes pecuniary is enjoyned" for the punishment of offenders of this class, while Burn,[2] in his Ecclesiastical Law says that penances may be either corporal or pecuniary and the former may be thrusting the convicts into a monastery, branding, stigmatizing, or imprisonment. In no work of this class have I found mention of the letter penalty.

In such books as Hone's Year Book, Brand's Popular Antiquities, and Chambers' Day Book, we should expect to find mention of punishments of this sort. The pillory and the ducking-stool are described, but the nearest approach to the punishment under discussion is to be found in the illustration of the pillory in Chambers, where the name of the culprit is placarded above his head as he stands in the machine.

There are certain books devoted to the topic of curious punishments.[3] None of these help us in our search for an instance of the punishment under special consideration.

One book which I have examined[4] seems to me to be in its omissions almost as much of an authority as to what

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[1] "Codex Juris Ecclesiastici," etc., by Edmund Gibson, D.D., London, 1741, p. 1085.

[2] "The Ecclesiastical Law," by Robt. Burn, LL.D. The Ninth Ed., corrected by Robt. Phillimore, III., p. 103.

[3] In the preface of one of these, "Punishments of the Olden Times, etc., etc., by Wm. Andrews, F. R. H. S., etc., etc.," I find the following: "For a considerable period we have devoted much time in collecting from the bye-ways of literature all the information we could find relating to the punishment of the people, and the result of our labors has been to bring together many important facts of historical interest and value not generally known. In this book we do not propose to furnish an account of all the modes of punishment of the days of yore, but to direct attention to the most important."

Another book of this class has the special title "Some strange and Curious punishments," being No. 5 of "The Olden Time Series," "Gleanings," etc., selected and arranged by Henry M. Brooks.

[4] "Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne," etc., etc., by A. H. A. Hamilton, London, 1878.

punishments were not inflicted in England during the period which it covers, as it undoubtedly is authority for the facts of that description which it records. The author availed himself of an opportunity to examine the records of the Devonshire Quarter Sessions from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the days of Queen Anne. From these records he has culled all that seemed to him worthy of mention. He gives instances of exposure of criminals with labels upon their persons, and records many facts concerning the branding of rogues and thieves, but he has not preserved for us an instance of a punishment which consisted in the continuous wearing of a badge or label. If we accept the failure to find in this book what we are after, as evidence of the non-existence of the practice in England we are forced to the conclusion that our search in English authorities can only give us light upon two points, viz.: Ignominious punishments of a temporary character by means of labels, and those of a continuous character through branding or through mutilation of the person. Temporary exposures with labels affixed were not uncommon in the days of Charles the First,[1] and often the offence was fully set forth in the descriptive phrase of which use

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[1] "Collectanea Juridica:—Consisting of Tracts relative to the Law and Constitution of England." Dublin, 1741.

Part II. "A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber." [By William Hudson.] [Written prior to 1635.]

P. 53. In S. H. S. One Compter being examined for breach of the privilege of the Court in procuring one to be arrested during his attendance, and denying it upon proof made thereof, he was sentenced to wear papers.

P. 169. Loss of ears is the punishment inflicted upon perjured persons, infamous libellers, scandalors of the State, and such like.

Branding in the face and slitting of the nose is a punishment inflicted upon forgers of false deeds, conspirators to take away the life of innocents, false scandal upon the judges and first personages of the realm.

Whipping hath been used as a punishment in great deceits. . . . .

Wearing of papers hath been used in all ages, and before the Statute of 5 Eliz. was the usual punishment of perjury, but since hath been used as a punishment for oppressors and great deceits.

I quote somewhat at length from this tract, because the contribution by the Star Chamber of information on this subject is unexpected.

was made. Thus Hamilton gives an instance in which the words "This is the fellow that beat his Master" were written on a paper which was placed in the hat of the convict, and he states that "Cozening the people by telling fortunes" was a phrase which was often used in a similar way, the prisoner being compelled to stand in the pillory with a paper in his hat stating his offence. The practice continued in force during the Commonwealth and is described in Hudibras as follows:[1]

> "With papers in their hats that showed
> As if they to the pillory rode."

A part of the sentence of Titus Oates was that he should walk round all the lands of Westminster Hall with a placard showing the nature of his offence.

The analogous method of punishment termed stigmatizing or branding was a recognized penalty in English practice.[2] The initial Roman letter with which the prisoner was branded was as a rule a ready key to unlock the secret of his crime.[3] Originally it was used to mark in the hand persons who had taken the benefit of clergy. In 1698, it was enacted that thieves should thereafter be burnt with

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[1] "Hudibras," edited by Henry G. Bohn. London, 1859, I., p. 67.

[2] At the Lent Assizes, Devonshire, 1598, eleven, and at the Midsummer Sessions, seven prisoners were branded.—Hamilton's Quarter Sessions, etc., pp. 30, 33.

[3] S S signified a Stirrer up of Sedition, Pike's "History of Crime," II., p. 163; M indicated a murderer, 4 Henry VII., Ch. 13, Statutes of the Realm, II., p. 538; R a rogue, Hamilton's Quarter Sessions, &c., p. 86; B a blasphemer, Burn's "Justice of the Peace," 10th edition, p. 212; V a vagabond, I. Ed. VI., Ch. III., Statutes of the Realm, IV., pt. I., p. 5; S a slave, I. Ed. VI., Ch. III., Statutes of the Realm, IV., pt. I., p. 5; F a fraymaker, or fighter, 5 and 6 Ed. VI., Ch. IV., Statutes of the Realm, IV., pt. I., p. 133; and T generally indicated a thief, 21 James I., Ch. VI., Statutes of the Realm, IV., pt. II., p. 1216. See also 4 Henry VII., Ch. XIII. I think there can be no doubt that the letter used for branding was initial and indicated the crime. Yet, Judge Lynde records in his diary, that in 1732 a man convicted of manslaughter was branded with the letter T. This could not have indicated the offence. They must have used a brand which happened to be convenient. The diaries of Benjamin Lynde, etc., p. 29. The letter might be burned into the flesh on the brawn of the thumb, 4 Henry VII., Ch. XIII; on the forehead, I. Ed. VI., Ch. III., Statutes of the Realm, IV., pt. I., p. 5; on the cheek, *Ibid.*: or on the shoulder, Hamilton's Quarter Sessions, etc., p. 86.

the usual mark in the most visible part of the left cheek near the nose, in open Court, in the presence of the Judge. This worked so badly that the statute only remained on the Statute Book eight years.[1]

Branding was not necessarily continuous in its effects nor was it of necessity, a constant reminder to the public that the person who had suffered the sentence was to be regarded as a warning. The iron might be inadequately heated. Branding on the shoulder was of course under cover. Branding on the brawn of the thumb could easily be kept out of sight; not so, however, with some of the mutilations which were provided as penalties in many of the early statutes.

One who slandered Philip and Mary paid for the act with his ears, while if he ventured to libel them the hand that penned the libel was chopped off. A perjurer in the days of Elizabeth[2] if he could not pay his fine was pilloried in some market place and had both his ears nailed.[3] A forger of evidences and writings[4] was pilloried, had both his ears cut off, and also had his nostrils slit and cut, and seared with a hot iron, so as to "remain a perpetual note or mark of his falsehood." Perpetual marks were sometimes left upon pilloried criminals, if we may believe the author of "Hudibras," which constituted no part of the legal punishment.[5]

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[1] Pike's "History of Crime," II., p. 280.

[2] 5 Eliz., Ch. IX., 1562-3, Stat. of the Realm, p. 437.

[3] "Each window like a pill'ry appears
With heads thrust thro' nailed by the ears."
—"Hudibras," Bohn's Edition, London, 1859, II., p. 228.

I have not seen the statute under which the penalty described in the following couplet was imposed:

"Dragg'd out thro' straiter holes by the ears,
Erased or Coup'd for Perjurers."
—*Ibid.*, p. 402.

[4] 5 Eliz., Ch. XIV., 1562-3, Stat. of the Realm, p. 443.

[5] "Or witches and on gibbets
Cutting from malefactors snippets,
Or from the pill'ry tips of ears
Of rebel saints and perjurers."
—*Ibid.*, II., p. 246.

Having noted these facts we are prepared to draw our conclusions from what has heretofore been recited as to punishments of the class under consideration, in the Colony and in the Mother Country. If we group under one class temporary punishments where a label was suspended upon the person of the offender, and in another continuous punishments where a letter or badge was affixed to his clothes, we shall find upon examination of the cases cited from the Records of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies that the first recorded instance of the infliction of an ignominious punishment of either class occurred in 1633, and consisted simply of the temporary exposure of the convict with the word "Drunkard" on his back. This was in Massachusetts Bay, and was followed the next year by a case which does not come under either group in our classification, but serves as a connecting link between the two. In this case the offender was sentenced to wear for a prolonged period a cloth letter suspended from his neck. In 1639, in Massachusetts Bay, there were two cases in which continuous sentences of this character were imposed, one also in Plymouth. In 1641 another continuous sentence was imposed in Plymouth. In neither of these cases is the method of attachment of the letter to the person indicated. All other sentences cited from the Massachusetts records and all penalties of this kind imposed by the statutes of Massachusetts Bay prior to 1694, were temporary in their character. In 1656 the first case is recorded in which a convict was sentenced to wear a letter upon the outer garment. This occurred at Plymouth and was followed two years thereafter by the statute against Adultery, which has already been quoted.

It is obvious that the suspension of a label about the

Bohn's reference to Macbeth suggests the probability that they were to be used for purposes similar to the "grease, that's sweaten from the murderer's gibbet" which was thrown into the witches' cauldron.

neck of a person exposed in a public place would serve its purpose. There was no need of inserting in the sentence a provision that the label should not be reversed. The offender, if not under surveillance of the officers of the Court, would at all times be under inspection of those who would see to it that the sentence was carried out according to its intent. The label could not be reversed by himself without attracting attention, nor would it be permitted to remain so if when flapped about by the wind the wrong side chanced to be turned to the public gaze. When a case arose in 1634 in which it was deemed desirable to prolong the punishment no change was made in the method of attaching the label to the person, but the caution to the offender to wear it outward was a recognition of the fact that this method would permit a technical compliance with the sentence, which would nevertheless avoid most of its terrors.

In the interview between Arthur Dimsdale and Hester Prynne which took place in the forest, Hester "undid the clasp that fastened the scarlet letter, and taking it from her bosom threw it to a distance among the withered leaves." It did not need the novelist to show that other methods might be used to exhibit the letter than by suspending it from the neck or sewing it on the garment. The loose flapping label was destined to be superseded if the punishment was to be changed from temporary exposure in a public place to the constant wearing when in the presence of another.

The real step in the evolution of this punishment was that which converted a temporary humiliation into a permanent shame. The mortification experienced by the drunkard exposed in the stocks might lead to his reform, but to keep him constantly before the community as an example was a cruel and ineffectual punishment. The same disregard of the criminal in the attempt to make out of his case a warning which should impress the public

is to be found in a sentence imposed in 1642, in which the offender was first to be severely whipped in Boston, and then to have one of his nostrils slit as high as well may be, after which it was to be seared. He was then to be remanded to prison till he should be fit to send to Salem, where he was to be again whipped, and the other nostril was to be slit and seared. After that he was not to be allowed to go outside of Boston, and he was to wear a hempen rope about his neck, the end of it hanging out two feet at least. If found at any time without the rope in sight he was to be whipped.[1] It would seem as though the mutilation of this poor criminal would have rendered him sufficiently conspicuous without the added infamy of the rope perpetually about his neck.

This method of indicating a convict served the purpose in a general way, as well as the letter on the garment, and was occasionally made use of. Thus, in November, 1654, a man was sentenced to be whipped at Boston and at Watertown, and thereafter to "wear a rope about his neck hanging down two foot long."

If the failure of Hamilton to discover in the Devonshire Sessions any continuous sentences of this character be accepted as indicative that such sentences were not imposed elsewhere in England during the same period, it would point to the prevalence of a different tendency in the Mother Country from that which prevailed in the colonies on the subject of penal discipline. The Criminal Laws of England were severe, but banishment led the way to transportation as an alternative for the preposterous list of capital offences. Harsh penalties of maiming, like those of cutting off ears for slander or striking off the hand for libel, are to be found upon the statute books,[2] but the alternative of the fine and imprisonment was generally

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[1] Massachusetts Colony Records, IV., pt. I., p. 212.
[2] Stat. at Large, II., 465, 1 and 2, Philip and Mary, Ch. III.

offered, and such acts if not extended, frequently expired with the demise of the Crown.

The branding on the brawn of the thumb provided for in the days of Henry VII.,[1] although it remained on the statute books until the reign of George III.,[2] was often administered in such a way that the law came to be regarded as an absurdity. Technically the penalty was enforced, but the branding irons were simply warmed, and in that condition pressed upon the thumb. Pike speaks of it as "a piece of absurd pageantry, tending neither to reformation of the offender nor for example to others." "By the time of Queen Anne," says Hamilton, "the multitudinous hangings, branding, and floggings which characterized the reign of Elizabeth had given way to a more settled and temperate system."

If the failure on the part of the English to develop the temporary labels into a continuous punishment means anything, it would seem as though it were in a line with the substitution of banishment for execution, and of the tendency towards a more settled and temperate criminal system.[3]

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[1] Burn's "Justice of the Peace," I., 319.

[2] Pike says in his "History of Crime," II., p. 282, "Branding was not discontinued until the reign of George III.," but in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 645, he says, "By the Transportation Act of 1718, 4 Geo. I., c. 11, persons within benefit of clergy might be transported for seven years, instead of being burnt in the hand or whipped."

[3] I am forced to draw my conclusions from a negative premise, *i. e.*, from failure to find instances of the punishment in question. This is of course unsatisfactory, as the thoroughness of my search may always be questioned. To reinforce my work, I sent a query to "Notes & Queries," and in response thereto received from Mr. Robert Blair, F. S. A., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the following reply: "*Letter brands on Criminals* (Notes & Queries, 8 Ser., vii., p. 7.) At a meeting of the above-named Society [Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne] held in October, 1892 (Proc., Vol. V., p. 228) there were exhibited specimens of the letters A P for "Allendale Parish," cut out of red cloth which about a century and a half ago were worn on the left sleeves of paupers in Allendale, County Northumberland." My first impression on reading this was that it militated against the conclusions which I draw in the text, but on second thought I saw, that however cruel the Overseers of the Poor may have been in thus thoughtlessly marking the paupers under their charge, the affixing the cloth letter

In this onward march toward an amelioration of penal administration, the people of the Colony and their descendants have pursued parallel lines with the inhabitants of Great Britain.[1] As a rule I think it may be said that we have generally been in advance, but it seems to me that the evolution here of the letter penalty under the same circumstances which failed to develop it in England is a sign of an earlier awakening there to the fact that it is not necessary that all punishments should be humiliating in their character.

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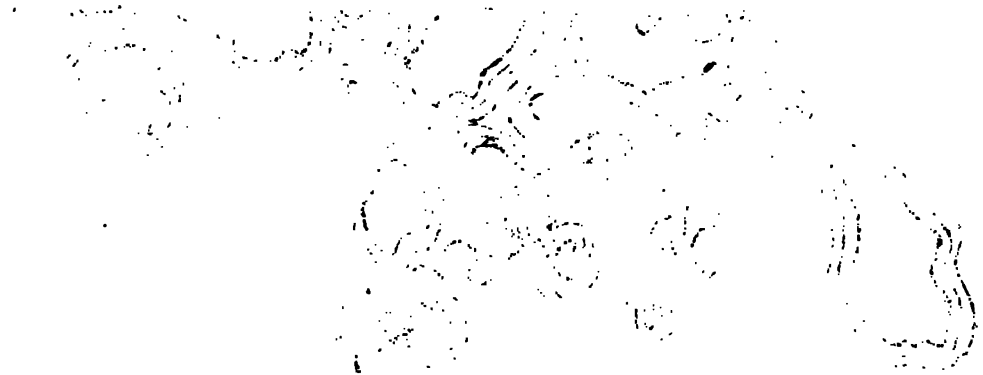
could not have been intended as a punishment. Mr. Blair adds to what I have quoted above: "This is the nearest answer I can give to your query, so far as the North of England is concerned."

[1] It must be remembered, however, that two of the soldiers concerned in the Boston Massacre in 1770, were convicted of manslaughter and were branded. Judge Lynde describing this says it took place in the Court. His language is "being admitted to the benefit of Clergy, were burnt in the hand in the Court."



JESUIT
MISSION
CHEQUAMEGON
BAY

THE STORY OF CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

WE commonly think of Wisconsin as a young State. In a certain sense she is. There are men now living, two or three of whom I meet almost daily, who were blazing paths through the Wisconsin wilderness, only sixty years ago: men who cleared the forests and broke the prairies; who founded frontier communities which have developed into cities; who upon this far away border sowed the seeds of industries which to-day support tens of thousands of their fellows; who threw up their hats when the Territory was erected; and who sat in the convention which gave to the new State a constitution. The Wisconsin of to-day, the Wisconsin which we know, is indeed young; for the lively octogenarians who were in at the birth will not admit that they are now old. But there was an earlier, a less prosaic, a far more romantic Wisconsin,—the French Wisconsin; and it had flourished in its own fashion for full two centuries before the coming of the Anglo-Saxon, who, brusquely crowding the Creole to the wall, made of his old home an American Commonwealth.

In 1634, when the child born upon the *Mayflower* was but in her fourteenth year, Jean Nicolet, sent out by the enterprising Champlain as far as Wisconsin,—a thousand miles of canoe journey west from Quebec,—made trading contracts, such as they were, with a half-score of squalid tribes huddled in widely-separated villages throughout the broad wilderness lying between Lakes Superior and Michigan. It was a daring, laborious expedition, as notable in its day as Livingstone's earliest exploits in Darkest Africa; and although its results were slow of development,—for in

the seventeenth century man was still cautiously deliberate, — this initial visit of the forest ambassador of New France to the country of the Upper Lakes broke the path for a train of events which were of mighty significance in American history.[1]

Let us examine the topography of Wisconsin. The State is situated at the head of the chain of Great Lakes. It is touched on the east by Lake Michigan, on the north by Lake Superior, on the west by the Mississippi, and is drained by interlacing rivers which so closely approach each other that the canoe voyager can with ease pass from one great water system to the other; he can enter the continent at the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and by means of numerous narrow portages in Wisconsin emerge into the south-flowing Mississippi, eventually returning to the Atlantic through the Gulf of Mexico. From Lake Michigan, the Fox-Wisconsin river system was the most popular highway to the great river; into Lake Superior, there flow numerous turbulent streams from whose sources lead short portage trails over to the headwaters of feeders of the Mississippi. From the western shore of Lake Superior, Pigeon River invites to exploration of the Winnipeg country, whence the canoeist can by a half-hundred easy routes reach the distant regions of Athabasca and the Polar Sea. In their early voyages to the head of lake navigation, it was in the course of nature that the French should soon discover Wisconsin; and having discovered it, learn that it was the key-point of the Northwest — the gateway to the entire continental interior. Thus, through Wisconsin's remarkable system of interlacing waterways, to which Nicolet led the way, New France largely prosecuted her far-reaching forest trade and her missionary explorations, securing a nominal control of the basin of the Mississippi at a time when Anglo-Saxons had gained little more of the

[1] The chief authority on Nicolet is Butterfield's *Discovery of the Northwest* (Cincinnati, 1881). See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI., pp. 1–25.

Atlantic slope than could be seen from the mast-head of a caravel. Thus the geographical character of Wisconsin became, early in the history of New France, an important factor. The trading posts and Jesuit missions on Chequamegon Bay[1] of Lake Superior, and on Green Bay of Lake Michigan, soon played a prominent part in American exploration. The career of Green Bay is familiar to us all.[2] I have thought it well hastily to summarize, in the brief space allowed me, the equally instructive story of Chequamegon Bay.

The sandstone cliffs of Lake Superior were, many geologists think, among the first Laurentian islands to arise from the ancient ocean; if this be so, then the rim of our greatest inland sea is one of the oldest spots on earth. In its numerous mines of copper, prehistoric man long delved and wrought with rude hammers and chisels of stone, fashioning those curious copper implements which are carefully treasured in American museums of archæology;[3] and upon its rugged shores the Caucasian early planted his stake, when between him and New England tidewater all was savagery.

After the coming to Wisconsin of Nicolet, a long period followed, in which the energies of New France were devoted to fighting back the Iroquois, who swarmed before the very gates of Quebec and Montreal. Exploration was for the time impossible. A quarter of a century passes

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[1] In his authoritative "History of the Ojibway Nation," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., Warren prefers the spelling "Chagoumigon," although recognizing "Shagawaumikong" and "Shaugahwaumikong." "Chequamegon" is the current modern form. Rev. Edward P. Wheeler, of Ashland, an authority on the Chippewa tongue and traditions, says the pronunciation should be "Sheh-gu-wah-mi-kung," with the accent on the last syllable.

[2] See Neville and Martin's *Historic Green Bay* (Milwaukee, 1894), and various articles in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.

[3] See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., pp. 98, 99, *note*, for account of early copper mining on Lake Superior, by Indians. In the summer of 1892, W. H. Holmes, of the Smithsonian Institution, found on Isle Royale no less than a thousand abandoned shafts which had been worked by them; and "enough stone implements lay around to stock every museum in the country."

away before we have evidence of another white man upon Wisconsin soil. In the spring of 1659, the Indians of the valley of the Fox were visited by two French fur-traders from the Lower St. Lawrence — Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, and his sister's husband, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers. In all American history there are no characters more picturesque than these two adventurous Creoles, who, in their fond desire to "travell and see countries," and "to be known wth the remotest people," roamed at will over the broad region between St. James's Bay and the Wisconsin River, having many curious experiences with wild beasts and wilder men. They made several important geographical discoveries,—among them, probably, the discovery of the Mississippi River in 1659, fourteen years before the visit of Joliet and Marquette; and from a trading settlement proposed by them to the English, when their fellow-countrymen no longer gave them employment, developed the great establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. The unconsciously-amusing narrative which Radisson afterwards wrote, for the edification of King Charles II. of England, is one of the most interesting known to American antiquaries.[1]

Two years after Radisson and Groseilliers were upon the Fox River, and made their notable trip to the Mississippi, they were again in the Northwest (autumn of 1661), and this time upon Lake Superior, which they had approached by carrying around the Sault Ste. Marie. Skirting the

[1] Radisson's *Voyages* was published by the Prince Society (Boston, 1885); that portion relating to Wisconsin is reproduced, with notes, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI. See also Jesuit *Relations*, 1660, for Father Lallemant's report of the discoveries of the "two Frenchmen," who had found "a fine river, great, broad, deep, and comparable, they say, to our great St. Lawrence."

In Franquelin's map of 1688, what is now Pigeon River, a part of the international boundary between Minnesota and Canada, is called Groseilliers. An attempt was made by the Wisconsin State Historical Society, in the Wisconsin Legislature, during the session of 1895, to call a proposed new county, Radisson; the name was adopted by the friends of the bill, but the measure itself failed to pass.

southern shore of the lake, past the now famous Pictured Rocks, they carried across Keweenaw Point, visited a band of Christino Indians[1] not far from the mouth of Montreal River, now the far western boundary between Upper Michigan and Wisconsin, and, portaging across the base of the Chequamegon Island of to-day,—then united to the mainland,—entered beautiful Chequamegon Bay. Just where they made their camp, it is impossible from Radisson's confused narrative to say; but that it was upon the mainland no Wisconsin antiquary now doubts, and we have reason to believe that it was upon the southwest shore, between the modern towns of Ashland and Washburn.[2]

Our chronicler writes, with a particularity of detail suggestive of De Foe: "We went about to make a fort of stakes, wch was in this manner. Suppose that the watter-side had ben in one end; att the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There were boughs of trees all about our fort layed acrosse, one uppon an other. Besides those boughs, we had a long cord tyed wth some small bells, wch weare sentereys. Finally, we made an ende

[1] Now called Crees.

[2] Radisson's *Journal* plainly indicates that the travellers portaged across the long, narrow sand-spit formerly styled Shagawaumikong, in their day united with the mainland, but now insular, and bearing the name Chequamegon Island; this Radisson describes as "a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad," and later he refers to it as "the point that forms that Bay, wch resembles a small lake." After making this portage of Shagawaumikong, they proceeded in their boats, and "att the end of this bay we landed." The Ottawas of the party desired to cross over to their villages on the headwaters of the Black and Chippewa, and no landing-place was so advantageous for this purpose as the southwest corner of the bay. It is plain from the narrative that the Frenchmen, now left to themselves, built their fortified hut at or near the place of landing, on the mainland. The Chippewa tradition of the coming of Radisson and Groseilliers, as given by Warren in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., pp. 121, 122, places the camp of the white men on the eastern extremity of Madelaine (or La Pointe) Island. The tradition runs close to the fact, in most other particulars; but in the matter of location, Radisson's journal leaves no room to doubt that the tradition errs.

of that fort in 2 dayes' time." Modernize this statement, and in imagination we can see this first dwelling erected by man on the shores of Lake Superior; a small log hut, built possibly on the extremity of a small rocky promontory; the door opens to the water front, while the land side, to the rear of the hut, is defended by a salient of palisades stretching from bank to bank of the narrow promontory; all about the rude structure is a wall of pine boughs piled one upon the other, with a long cord intertwined, and on this cord are strung numbers of the little hawk-bells then largely used in the Indian trade for purposes of gift and barter. It was expected that in case of a night attack from savages, who might be willing to kill them for the sake of their stores, the enemy would stir the boughs and unwittingly ring the bells, thus arousing the little garrison. These ingenious defences were not put to the test, although no doubt they had a good moral effect in keeping the thieving Hurons at a respectful distance.

Winter was just setting in. The waters of the noble bay were taking on that black and sullen aspect peculiar to the season. The beautiful islands, later named for the Twelve Apostles,[1] looked gloomy indeed in their dark evergreen mantles. From the precipitous edges of the red-sandstone cliffs, which girt about this estuary of our greatest inland sea, the dense pine forests stretched westward and southward for hundreds of miles. Here and there in the primeval depths was a cluster of starveling Algonkins, still trembling from fear of a return of the Iroquois, who had chased them from Canada into this land of swamps and tangled woods, where their safety lay in hiding. At wide intervals, uncertain trails led from village to village, and in places the rivers were convenient highways; these narrow paths, however, beset with danger in a thousand

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[1] Apparently by Jonathan Carver, in the map accompanying his volume of *Travels*.

shapes, but emphasized the unspeakable terrors of the wilderness.

Radisson and Groseilliers, true *coureurs des bois*, were not daunted by the dangers which daily beset them. After *caching* their goods, they passed the winter of 1661–62 with their Huron neighbors, upon a prolonged hunt, far into the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota. The season was phenomenally severe, and the Indians could not find game enough to sustain life. A famine ensued in the camp, the tragical details of which are painted by our friend Radisson with Hogarthian minuteness. In the spring of 1662, the traders were back again at Chequamegon, and built another fortified shelter, this time possibly on the sand-spit of Shaugawaumikong,[1] from which base they once more wan-

[1] Says Warren (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 102): "Shag-a-waum-ik-ong is a narrow neck or point of land about four miles long, and lying nearly parallel to the island of La Pointe, toward the western end of which it converges, till the distance from point to point is not more than two miles." In first entering the bay, the previous autumn, Radisson describes the point of Shagawaumikong, and says: "That point should be very fitt to build & advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following." But later on in his journal, in describing the return to the bay from their winter with the Indians in the Mille Lacs region, he does not mention the exact location of the new "fort." While in this fort, they "received [news] that the Octanaks [Ottawas] [had] built a fort on the point that forms that Bay, wch resembles a small lake. We went towards it with all speede,—and had a perilous trip thither, across thin ice." This would indicate that the French camp was not on the point. As with many other passages in the journal, it is impossible to reconcile these two statements.

Warren, who had an intimate acquaintance with Chippewa traditions, believed that that tribe, driven westward by degrees from the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, reached Lake Superior about the time of the Columbian discovery, and came to a stand on Shagawaumikong Point. "On this spot they remained not long, for they were harassed daily by their warlike foes, and for greater security they were obliged to move their camp to the adjacent island of Mon-ing-wun-a-kauning (place of the golden-breasted woodpecker, but known as La Pointe). Here, they chose the site of their ancient town, and it covered a space about three miles long and two broad, comprising the western end of the island."—(*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 96.) They remained in this large town "for the space of three generations, or one hundred and twenty years," but for various reasons (see *ibid.*, p. 108 *et seq.*, for the details) evacuated the place, and settling on the adjacent mainland came to regard La Pointe Island (now Madelaine) as an abode of evil spirits, upon which, it is said, until the days of Cadotte, no Indian dare stay over night alone. Gradually, as the bea-

dered in search of adventures and peltries, going as far northwest as Lake Assiniboine, and later in the season returning to their home on the Lower St. Lawrence.

When Radisson's party went to Lake Superior, in the autumn of 1661, they were accompanied as far as Keweenaw Bay by a Jesuit priest, Father Pierre Ménard, who established there a mission among the Ottawas. The following June, disheartened in his attempt to convert these obdurate tribesmen, Ménard set out for the Huron villages on the upper waters of the Black and Chippewa, but perished on the way.[1]

It was not until August of 1665, three years later, that Father Claude Allouez, another Jesuit, was sent to reopen the abandoned Ottawa mission on Lake Superior. He chose his site on the southwestern shore of Chequamegon Bay, possibly the same spot on which Radisson's hut had been built, four years previous, and piously called his mission and the locality, *La Pointe du Saint Esprit*, which in time was shortened to La Pointe.[2]

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ver grew more scarce, the Chippewas radiated inland, so that at the time of Radisson's visit the shores of the bay were almost unoccupied, save during the best fishing season, when Chippewas, Ottawas, Hurons, and others congregated there in considerable numbers.

[1] The route which Ménard took is involved in doubt. Verwyst, following the Jesuit *Relations*, thinks he ascended some stream flowing into Lake Superior, and portaged over to the headwaters of Black River. Others, following Tailhan's *Perrot*, believe that he crossed over to Green Bay, then ascended the Fox, descended the Wisconsin, and ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Black. If the latter was his route, his visit to the Mississippi preceded Joliet's, by eleven years.

[2] There has always been some confusion among antiquarians, as to what particular topographical feature gave name to the region. Neill (in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 116) is of the opinion that Allouez "built a bark chapel on the shores of the bay, between a village of Petun Hurons and a village composed of three bands of Ottawas." That Allouez was stationed upon the mainland, where the Indians now were, is evident from his description of the bay (*Relations* for 1666-67): "A beautiful bay, at the bottom of which is situated the great village of the savages, who there, plant their fields of Indian corn, and lead a stationary life. They are there, to the number of eight hundred men bearing arms, but collected from seven different nations, who dwell in peace with each other." In christening his mission "La Pointe," he had reference, I think, not to the particular plot of ground on which his

At the time of Radisson's visit, the shores of Chequamegon Bay were uninhabited save by a few half-starved Hurons; but soon thereafter it became the centre of a considerable Indian population, residents of several tribes having been drawn thither, first, by the fisheries, second, by a fancied security in so isolated a region against the Iroquois of the East and the wild Sioux of the West. When Allouez arrived in this polyglot village, October 1, he found there Chippewas, Pottawattomies, Kickapoos, Sauks, and Foxes, all of them Wisconsin tribes; besides these were Hurons, Ottawas, Miamis, and Illinois,—victims of Iroquois hate who had fled in droves before the westward advances of their merciless tormentors.

Despite his large congregations, Allouez made little headway among these people, being consoled for his hardships and ill-treatment by the devotion of a mere handful of followers. For four years did he labor alone in the Wisconsin wilderness, hoping against hope, varying the monotony of his dreary task by occasional canoe voyages to Quebec, to report progress to his father superior. Father James Marquette, a more youthful zealot, was at last sent to relieve him, and in September, 1669, arrived at

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chapel lay, but to the neighboring sandy point of Shagawaumikong, hemming in the bay on the east, in which he must have had a poetic interest, for tradition told him that it was the landfall of the Chippewas, and the place where, perhaps a century before, had been fought a great battle between them and the Dakotahs (or Sioux), relics of which were to be found in our own day, in the human bones scattered freely through the shifting soil, and doubtless in his time were much in evidence.

The map in the Jesuit *Relations* for 1670–71 styles the entire Bayfield peninsula, forming the west shore of the bay, "La Pointe du St. Esprit," which of course was map-making from vague report. Franquelin's map of 1688, more exact in every particular, places a small settlement near the southwestern extremity of the bay. See also Verwyst's *Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Ménard, and Allouez* (Milwaukee, 1886), p. 183.

In 1820, Cass and Schoolcraft visited Chequamegon Bay, and the latter, in his *Narrative*, says: "Passing this [Bad] river, we continued along the sandy formation to its extreme termination, which separates the Bay of St. Charles [Chequamegon] from that remarkable group of islands called the Twelve Apostles by Carver. It is this sandy point which is called La Pointe Chagoimegon by the old French authors, a term now shortened to La Pointe."

La Pointe from Sault Ste. Marie, after spending a full month upon the journey,—so hampered was he, at that early season, by snow and ice. Allouez, thus relieved from a work that had doubtless palled upon him, proceeded upon invitation of the Pottawattomies to Green Bay, where he arrived early in December, and founded the second Jesuit mission in Wisconsin, St. Francis Xavier, on the site of the modern town of Depere.[1]

Marquette had succeeded to an uncomfortable berth. Despite his strenuous efforts as a peacemaker, his dusky parishioners soon unwisely quarreled with their western neighbors, the Sioux,[2] with the result that the La Pointe bands, and Marquette with them, were driven like leaves before an autumn blast eastward along the southern shore of the great lake: the Ottawas taking up their home in the Manitoulin Islands of Lake Huron, the Hurons accompanying Marquette to the Straits of Mackinaw, where he established the mission of St. Ignace.

With La Pointe mission abandoned, and Lake Superior closed to French enterprise by the "raging Sioux," the mission at Depere now became the centre of Jesuit operations in Wisconsin, and it was a hundred and sixty-four years later (1835), before mass was again said upon the forest-fringed shores of Chequamegon Bay.

Although the missionary had deserted La Pointe, the fur trader soon came to be much in evidence there. The spirit

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[1] By this time fear of the Iroquois had subsided, and many Hurons had lately returned with the Pottawattomies, Sauks, and Foxes, to the old haunts of the latter, on Fox River. Cadillac, writing in 1703 from Detroit, says (*Margry*, V., p. 317): "It is proper that you should be informed that more than fifty years since [about 1645] the Iroquois by force of arms drove away nearly all of the other Indian nations from this region [Lake Huron] to the extremity of Lake Superior, a country north of this post, and frightfully barren and inhospitable. About thirty-two years ago [1671] these exiled tribes collected themselves together at Michillimakinak."

[2] "The cause of the perpetual war, carried on between these two nations, is this, that both claim, as their exclusive hunting-ground, the tract of country which lies between them, and uniformly attack each other when they meet upon it."—Henry's *Travels and Adventures* (N. Y., 1809), pp. 197, 198.

of Radisson and Groseilliers long permeated this out-of-the-way corner of the Northwest. We find (1673), three years after Marquette's expulsion, La Salle's trading agent, Sieur Raudin, cajoling the now relentent Sioux at the western end of Lake Superior. In the summer of 1679, that dashing *coureur de bois*, Daniel Grayson du l' Hut,[1] ascended the St. Louis River, which divides Wisconsin and Minnesota, and penetrated with his lively crew of *voyageurs* to the Sandy Lake country, being probably the first white trader upon the head-waters of the Mississippi. The succeeding winter, he spent in profitable commerce with the Assiniboines, Crees, and other northern tribes in the neighborhood of Grand Portage,[2] on the boundary between Minnesota and Canada. In June, 1680, probably unaware of the easier portage by way of the Mille Lacs and Rum River, Du l' Hut set out at the head of a small company of employés to reach the Mississippi by a new route. Entering the narrow and turbulent Bois Brulé,[3] half-way along the southern shore of Lake Superior, between Red Cliff and St. Louis River, he with difficulty made his way over the fallen trees and beaver dams which then choked its course. From its head waters there is a mile-long portage to the Upper St. Croix; this traversed, Du l' Hut was upon a romantic stream which swiftly carried him, through foaming rapids and deep, cool lakes, down into the Father of Waters. Here it was that he heard of Father Louis Hennepin's captivity among the Sioux, and with much address and some courage rescued that doughty adventurer, and carried him by way of the Fox-Wisconsin route in safety to Mackinaw.

An adventurous forest trader, named Le Sueur, was the next man to imprint his name on the page of Lake Superior history. The Fox Indians, who controlled the valleys of

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[1] From whom the city of Duluth, Minn., was named.

[2] For an account of Grand Portage, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI., pp. 123-125.

[3] Perhaps the most famous of Wisconsin trout streams.

the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, had for various reasons become so hostile to the French that those divergent streams were no longer safe as a gateway from the Great Lakes to the Great River. The tendency of the prolonged Fox War was to force fur trade travel to the portages of Chicago and St. Joseph's on the south, and those of Lake Superior on the north.[1] It was with a view to keeping open one of Du l' Hut's old routes,—the Bois Brulé and St. Croix Rivers,—that Le Sueur was despatched by the authorities of New France in 1693. He built a stockaded fort on Madelaine island, convenient for guarding the northern approach,[2] and another on an island in the Mississippi, below the mouth of the St. Croix, and near the present town of Red Wing, Minnesota. The post in the Mississippi soon became "the centre of commerce for the Western parts"; and the station in Chequamegon Bay also soon rose to importance, for the Chippewas, who had drifted far inland into Wisconsin and Minnesota with the growing scarcity of game,—the natural result of the indiscriminate slaughter which the fur trade encouraged,—were induced by the new trading facilities to return to their old bay shore haunts, massing themselves in an important village on the southwestern shore.

This incident strikingly illustrates the important part which the trader early came to play in Indian life. At first an agriculturist in a small way, and a hunter and fisher only so far as the daily necessities of food and clothing required, the Indian was induced by the white man to kill animals for their furs,—luxuries ever in great demand in the marts of civilization. The savage wholly devoted

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[1] See Parkman's *Half Century of Conflict*, and Hebberd's *Wisconsin under French Domination* (Madison, 1890).

[2] Neill, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 140, says that soon after St. Lusson's taking possession of the Northwest for France, at Sault Ste. Marie (1671), French traders built a small fort set about with cedar palisades, on which a cannon was mounted, "at the mouth of a small creek or pond midway between the present location of the American Fur Company's establishment and the mission house of the American Board of Foreign Missions."

himself to the chase, and it became necessary for the white man to supply him with clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments of European manufacture: the currency as well as the necessities of the wilderness.[1] These articles the savage had heretofore laboriously fashioned for himself at great expenditure of time; no longer was he content with native manufactures, and indeed he quickly lost his old-time facility for making them. It was not long before he was almost wholly dependent on the white trader for the commonest conveniences of life; no longer being tied to his fields, he became more and more a nomad, roving restlessly to and fro in search of fur-bearing game, and quickly populating or depopulating a district according to the conditions of trade. Without his trader, he quickly sank into misery and despair; with the advent of the trader, a certain sort of prosperity once more reigned in the tepee of the red man. In the story of Chequamegon Bay, the heroes are the fur trader and the missionary; and of these the fur trader is the greater, for without his presence on this scene there would have been no Indians to convert.

Although Le Sueur was not many years in command upon Chequamegon Bay,[2] we catch frequent glimpses thereafter, of stockaded fur trade stations here,—French, English, and American, in turn,—the most of them doubtless being on Madelaine Island, which was easily defensible from the

[1] *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 125. Originally, the Indians of Lake Superior went to Quebec to trade; but, as the whites penetrated westward by degrees, these commercial visits were restricted to Montreal, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, as each in turn became the outpost of French influence; finally trading-posts were opened at La Pointe, St. Louis River, and Pigeon River, and in time traders even followed the savages on their long hunts after the ever-decreasing game.

[2] In July, 1695, Chingouabé, chief of the Chippewas, voyaged with Le Sueur to Montreal, to "pay his respects to Onontio, in the name of the young warriors of Point Chagouamigon, and to thank him for having given them some Frenchmen to dwell with them; and to testify their sorrow for one Jobin, a Frenchman killed at a feast. It occurred accidentally, not maliciously." In his reply (July 29), Governor Frontenac gave the Chippewas some good advice, and said that he would again send Le Sueur "to command at Chagouamigon." —*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V. p. 421.

mainland.[1] We know that in 1717 there was a French trader at La Pointe—the popular name for the entire bay district—for he was asked by Lt. Robertel de la Noüe, who was then at Kaministiquoya, to forward a letter to a certain Sioux chief. In September, 1718, Captain Paul Legardeur St. Pierre, whose mother was a daughter of Jean Nicolet, Wisconsin's first explorer, was sent to command at Chequamegon, assisted by Ensign Linctot, the authorities of the lower country having been informed that the Chippewa chief there was, with his fellow-chief at Keweenaw, going to war with the Foxes. St. Pierre was at Chequamegon for at least a year, and was succeeded by Linctot, who effected an important peace between the Chippewas and Sioux.[2]

Whether a garrisoned fort was maintained at Chequamegon Bay, from St. Pierre's time to the close of the French domination, it is impossible to say; but it seems probable, for the geographical position was one of great importance in the development of the fur trade, and the few records we have mention the fort as one of long standing.[3] In

[1] It is evident that hereafter Madelaine Island was the chief seat of French power in Chequamegon Bay, but it was not until the present century that either the name La Pointe or Madelaine was applied to the island. Franquelin's map (1688), calls it "Isle Detour ou St. Michel." Bellin's French map of Lake Superior (in Charlevoix's *Histoire et description générale de Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744), calls the long sand-point of Shagawaumikong (now Chequamegon Island), "Pointe de Chagauamigon," and styles the present Madelaine Island "Isle La Ronde," after the trader La Ronde; what is now Basswood Island, he calls "Isle Michel," and at the southern extremity of the bay makes a sign to the effect that there was once an important Indian village. In De L'Isle's map, of 1745, a French trading house (*Maison Françoise*) is shown on Shagawaumikong Point itself. Madelaine Island has at various times been known as Monegoinaiccauning (or Moningwunakauning, Chippewa for "golden-breasted woodpecker"), St. Michel, La Ronde, Woodpecker, Montreal, Virginia (Schoolcraft, 1820), Michael's (McKenney, 1826), Middle (because midway between the stations of Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William at Pigeon River), Cadotte's, and La Pointe (the latter because of La Pointe village being situated thereon).

[2] *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., pp. 423–425.

[3] It was during this period the only fur-trading station on the south shore of Lake Superior, and was admirably situated for protecting not only the west end of the lake, but the popular portage route between Lake Superior and the Mississippi River,—the Bois Brulé and the St. Croix Rivers.

1730, it is recorded that a nugget of copper was brought to the post by an Indian, and search was at once made for a mine; but October 18, 1731, the authorities of New France wrote to the home office in Paris that, owing to the superstitions of the Indians, which led them to conceal mineral wealth from the whites, no copper mine had thus far been found in the neighborhood of Chequamegon Bay. The commandant of Chequamegon at this time was Sieur La Ronde Denis, known to history as La Ronde,—like his predecessors, for the most part, a considerable trader in these far Western parts, and necessarily a man of enterprise and vigor. La Ronde was for many years the chief trader in the Lake Superior country, his son and partner being Denis de La Ronde. They built for their trade a bark of 40 tons, which was without doubt "the first vessel on the great lake, with sails larger than an Indian blanket."[1] On account of the great outlay they had incurred in this and other undertakings in the wilderness, the post of Chequamegon, with its trading monopoly, had been given to the elder La Ronde, according to a despatch of that day, "as a gratuity to defray expenses." Other allusions to the La Rondes are not infrequent: in 1736,[2] the son is ordered to investigate a report of a copper mine at Iron River, not far east of the Bois Brulé; in the spring of 1740, the father is at Mackinaw on his return to Chequamegon from a visit to the lower country, but being sick is obliged to

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[1] J. D. Butler's "Early Shipping on Lake Superior," in *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1894, p. 87. The rigging and material were taken in canoes from the lower country to Sault Ste. Marie, the vessel being built at Point aux Pins, on the north shore, seven miles above the Sault. Butler shows that Alexander Henry was interested with a mining company in launching upon the lake in May, 1771, a sloop of 70 tons. After this, sailing vessels were regularly employed upon Superior, in the prosecution of the fur trade and copper mining. The Hudson Bay Company's "Speedwell" was upon the lake as early as 1789; the Northwest Company's principal vessel was the "Beaver."

[2] In this year, there were reported to be 150 Chippewa braves living on Point Chagouamigon.—*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, IX.

return to Montreal;[1] and in 1744, Bellin's map gives the name "Isle de la Ronde" to what we now know as Madelaine, fair evidence that the French post of this period was on that island.

We hear nothing more of importance concerning Chequamegon until about 1756, when Hertel de Beaubassin, the last French commandant there, was summoned to Lower Canada with his Chippewa allies, to do battle against the English.[2] For several years past, wandering English fur traders had been tampering with the Chippewas of Lake Superior, who in consequence frequently maltreated their old friends, the French;[3] but now that the tribe were summoned for actual fighting in the lower country, with extravagant promises of presents, booty, and scalps, they with other Wisconsin Indians eagerly flocked under the French banner, and in painted swarms appeared on the banks of the St. Lawrence, with no better result than to embarrass the French commissariat and thus unwittingly aid the ambitious English.

New France was tottering to her fall. The little garrison on Madelaine Island had been withdrawn from the frontier, with many another like it, to help in the defence of the lower country; and the Upper Lakes, no longer policed by the fur trade monopoly, were free plunder for unlicensed traders, or *coureurs des bois*. Doubtless such were the party who encamped upon the island during the autumn of 1760. By the time winter had set in upon them, all had left for their wintering grounds in the forests of the far West and Northwest, save a clerk named Joseph,

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[1] Martin MSS., Dominion Archives, Ottawa,—letter of Beauharnois. For much of the foregoing data see Neill's "History of the Ojibways," *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V.

[2] *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, X., p. 424.

[3] Says Governor Galissonière, in writing to the colonial office at Paris, under date of October, 1748: "Voyageurs robbed and maltreated at Sault Ste. Marie, and elsewhere on Lake Superior; in fine there appears to be no security anywhere."—*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, X., p. 182.

who remained in charge of the stores and the local traffic. With him were his little family,—his wife, who was from Montreal, his child, a small boy, and a man-servant, or *voyageur*. Traditions differ as to the cause of the servant's action,—some have it, a desire for wholesale plunder; others, the being detected in a series of petty thefts, which Joseph threatened to report; others, an unholy and unrequited passion for Joseph's wife. However that may be, the servant murdered first the clerk, and then the wife; and in a few days, stung by the piteous cries of the child, the lad himself. When the spring came, and the traders returned to Chequamegon, they inquired for Joseph and his family, but the servant's reply was unsatisfactory and he finally confessed to his horrid deed. The story goes, that in horror the traders dismantled the old French fort as a thing accursed, sunk the cannon in a neighboring pool, and so destroyed the palisade that to-day naught remains save grassy mounds. Carrying their prisoner with them on their return voyage to Montreal, he is said to have escaped to the Hurons, among whom he boasted of his deed, only to be killed as too cruel a companion even for savages.[1]

New France having now fallen, an English trader, Alexander Henry, spent the winter of 1765–66 upon the mainland, opposite the island.[2] Henry had obtained from the English commandant at Mackinaw the exclusive trade of Lake Superior, and at Sault Ste. Marie took into

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[1] See the several versions of this tale, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, VIII., pp. 224 *et seq.*; and *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., pp. 141–145, 431, 432. Warren says that some Chippewa traditions ascribe this tragedy to the year 1722, but the weight of evidence is as in the text above.

[2] "My house, which stood in the bay, was sheltered by an island of fifteen miles in length, and between which and the main the channel is four miles broad. On the island there was formerly a French trading-post, much frequented; and in its neighborhood a large Indian village."—Henry's *Travels*, p. 199. Henry doubtless means that formerly there was an Indian village on the island; until after the coming of Cadotte, the island was thought by the natives to be bewitched.

partnership with him Jean Baptiste Cadotte,[1] a thrifty Frenchman, who for many years thereafter was one of the most prominent characters on the Upper Lakes. Henry and Cadotte spent several winters together on Lake Superior, but only one upon the shores of Chequamegon, which Henry styles "the metropolis of the Chippeways."[2]

The next dweller at Chequamegon Bay, of whom we have record, was John Johnston, a Scotch-Irish fur trader of some education. Johnston established himself on Madelaine Island, not far from the site of the old French fort; some four miles across the water, on the mainland to the west, near where is now the white town of Bayfield, was a Chippewa village with whose inhabitants he engaged in traffic. Waubojeeg (White Fisher), a forest celebrity in his day, was the village chief at this time, and possessed of a comely daughter whom Johnston soon sought and obtained in marriage. Taking his bride to his island home, Johnston appears to have lived there for a year or two in friendly commerce with the natives, at last retiring to his old station at Sault Ste. Marie.[3]

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[1] Jean Baptiste Cadotte (formerly spelled Cadot) was the son of one Cadeau, who is said to have come to the Northwest in the train of Sieur de St. Lusson, who took possession of the region centring at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1671. See St. Lusson's *procès-verbal* in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XI., p. 26. Jean Baptiste, who was legally married to a Chippewa woman, had two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, both of whom were extensive traders and in their turn married Chippewas. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., index.

[2] "On my arrival at Chagouenig, I found fifty lodges of Indians there. These people were almost naked, their trade having been interrupted, first by the English invasion of Canada, and next by Pontiac's war."—Henry's *Travels*, p. 193.

[3] McKenney, in *History of the Indian Tribes* (Phila., 1854), I., pp. 154, 155, tells the story. He speaks of Johnston as "the accomplished Irish gentleman who resided so many years at the Sault de Ste. Marie, and who was not better known for his intelligence and polished manners than for his hospitality." Johnston died (æt. 66) at Sault Ste. Marie, Sept. 22, 1828. His widow became a Presbyterian, and built a church of that denomination at the Sault. Her daughter married Henry B. Schoolcraft, the historian of the Indian tribes. Waubojeeg died at an advanced age, in 1793.

Mention has been made of Jean Baptiste Cadotte, who was a partner of Alexander Henry in the latter's Lake Superior trade, soon after the middle of the century. Cadotte, whose wife was a Chippewa, after his venture with Henry had returned to Sault Ste. Marie, from which point he conducted an extensive trade through the Northwest. Burdened with advancing years, he retired from the traffic in 1796, and divided the business between his two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel.

About the opening of the present century,[1] Michel took up his abode on Madelaine Island, and from that time to the present there has been a continuous settlement upon it. He had been educated at Montreal, and marrying Equay-sayway, the daughter of White Crane, the village chief of La Pointe,[2] at once became a person of much importance in the Lake Superior country. Upon the old trading site at the southwestern corner of the island, by this time commonly called La Pointe,—borrowing the name, as we have seen, from the original La Pointe, on the mainland, and it in turn from Point Chequamegon,—Cadotte for over a quarter of a century lived at his ease; here he cultivated a "comfortable little farm," commanded a fluctuating, but often far-reaching fur trade, first as agent of the Northwest Company and later of Astor's American Fur Company, and reared a considerable family, the sons of which were, as he had been, educated at Montreal, and became the heads of families of Creole traders, interpreters, and *voyageurs* whom antiquarians now eagerly seek when engaged in bringing to light the French and Indian traditions of Lake Superior.[3]

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[1] Warren thinks he settled there about 1792 (*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 111), but there is good evidence that it was at a later date.

[2] "The Cranes claim the honor of first having pitched their wigwam, and lighted the fire of the Ojibways, at Shaug-ah-waum-ik-ong, a sand point or peninsula lying two miles immediately opposite the Island of La Pointe."—Warren, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 86.

[3] "Kind-hearted Michel Cadotte," as Warren calls him, also had a trading-post at Lac Courte Oreille. He was, like the other Wisconsin Creole traders,

In the year 1818 there came to the Lake Superior country two sturdy, fairly-educated[1] young men, natives of the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts,—Lyman Marcus Warren, and his younger brother, Truman Abraham. They were of the purest New England stock, being lineally descended from Richard Warren, one of the "Mayflower" company. Engaging in the fur trade, the brothers soon became popular with the Chippewas, and in 1821 still further entrenched themselves in the affections of the tribesmen by marrying the two half-breed daughters of old Michel Cadotte,—Lyman taking unto himself Mary, while Charlotte became the wife of Truman. At first the Warrens worked in opposition to the American Fur Company, but John Jacob Astor's lieutenants were shrewd men and understood the art of overcoming commercial rivals. Lyman was made by them a partner in the lake traffic, and in 1824 established himself at La Pointe as the company's agent for the Lac Flambeau, Lac Courte Oreille, and St. Croix departments, an arrangement which continued for some fourteen years. The year previous, the brothers

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in English employ during the War of 1812-15, and was at the capture of Mackinaw in 1812. He died on the island, July 8, 1837, aged 72 years, and was buried there. As with most of his kind, he made money freely and spent it with prodigality, partly in high living, but mainly in supporting his many Indian relatives; as a consequence, he died poor, the usual fate of men of his type.—(*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., p. 449.) Warren says (p. 11), the death occurred "in 1836," but the tombstone gives the above date.

Cass and Schoolcraft visited Chequamegon Bay in 1820. Schoolcraft says, in his *Narrative*, pp. 192, 193: "Six miles beyond the Mauvaise is Point Chegoi-me-gon, once the grand rendezvous of the Chippeway tribe, but now reduced to a few lodges. Three miles further west is the island of St. Michel (Madelaine), which lies in the traverse across Chegoimegon Bay, where M. Cadotte has an establishment. This was formerly an important trading post, but is now dwindled to nothing. There is a dwelling of logs, stockaded in the usual manner of trading houses, besides several out-buildings, and some land in cultivation. We here also found several cows and horses, which have been transported with great labour."

[1] Alfred Brunson, who visited Lyman Warren at La Pointe, in 1843, wrote: "Mr. Warren had a large and select library, an unexpected sight in an Indian country, containing some books that I had never before seen."—Brunson's *Western Pioneer* (Cincinnati, 1879), II., p. 163.

had bought out the interests of their father-in-law, who now, much reduced in means, retired to private life after forty years' prosecution of the forest trade.[1]

The brothers Warren were the last of the great La Pointe fur traders.[2] Truman passed away early in his career, having expired in 1825, while upon a voyage between Mackinaw and Detroit. Lyman lived at La Pointe until 1838, when his connection with the American Fur Company was dissolved, and then became United States sub-agent to the Chippewa reservation on Chippewa River, where he died on the tenth of October, 1847, aged fifty-three years.[3]

Lyman Marcus Warren was a Presbyterian, and, although possessed of a Catholic wife, was the first to invite Protestant missionaries to Lake Superior. Not since the days of Allouez had there been an ordained minister at La Pointe; Warren was solicitous for the spiritual welfare of his Chippewa friends, especially the young, who were being reared without religious instruction, and subject to the demoralizing influence of a rough element of white borderers. The Catholic Church was not just then ready to reënter the long-neglected field; his predilections, too, were for the Protestant faith. In 1830, while upon his annual summer trip to Mackinaw for supplies, he secured the coöperation of Frederick Ayer, of the Mackinaw mission, who returned with him in his batteau as lay preacher and school-teacher, and opened at La Pointe what was then the only mission upon the shores of the great lake. Thither came in Warren's company, the latter part of August, the

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[1] *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V., pp. 326, 383, 384, 450. Contemporaneously with the settlement of the Warrens at La Pointe, Lieutenant Bayfield of the British navy made (1822-23) surveys from which he prepared the first accurate chart of Lake Superior; his name is preserved in Bayfield peninsula, county, and town, Wisconsin.

[2] Borup had a trading-post on the island in 1846; but the forest commerce had by this time sadly dwindled.

[3] He left six children, the oldest son being William Whipple Warren, historian of the Chippewa tribe. See Williams's "Memoir of William W. Warren," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, V.

following year (1831), Rev. Sherman Hall and wife, who served as missionary and teacher, respectively, and Mrs. John Campbell, an interpreter.[1]

La Pointe was then upon the site of the old French trading post at the southwest corner of Madelaine Island; and there, on the first Sunday afternoon after his arrival, Mr. Hall preached "the first sermon ever delivered in this place by a regularly-ordained Christian minister." The missionaries appear to have been kindly received by the Catholic Creoles, several of whom were now domiciled at La Pointe. The school was patronized by most of the families upon the island, red and white, who had children of proper age. By the first of September there was an average attendance of twenty-five. Instruction was given almost wholly in the English language, with regular Sunday-school exercises for the children, and frequent gospel meetings for the Indian and Creole adults.

We have seen that the first La Pointe village was at the southwestern extremity of the island. This was known as the "old fort" site, for here had been the original Chippewa village, and later the fur-trading posts of the French and English. Gradually, the old harbor became shallow, because of the shifting sand, and unfit for the new and larger vessels which came to be used in the fur trade. The American Fur Company therefore built a "new fort" a few miles farther north, still upon the west shore of the island, and to this place, the present village, the name La Pointe came to be transferred. Half-way between the "old fort" and the "new fort," Mr. Hall erected (probably in 1832) "a place for worship and teaching," which came to be the centre of Protestant missionary work in Chequamegon Bay.

At that time, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists

[1] See Davidson's excellent "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII., to which I am chiefly indebted for the following data concerning the modern La Pointe missions.

were, in the American Home Missionary Society and the American Board, united in the conduct of Wisconsin missions, and it is difficult for a layman to understand to which denomination the institution of the original Protestant mission at La Pointe may properly be ascribed. Warren was, according to Neill, a Presbyterian, so also, nominally, were Ayer and Hall, although the last two were latterly rated as Congregationalists. Davidson, a Congregational authority, says: "The first organization of a Congregational church within the present limits of Wisconsin took place at La Pointe in August, 1833, in connection with this mission";[1] and certainly the missionaries who later came to assist Hall were of the Congregational faith; these were Rev. Leonard Hemenway Wheeler and wife, Rev. Woodbridge L. James and wife, and Miss Abigail Spooner. Their work appears to have been as successful as such proselyting endeavors among our American Indians can hope to be, and no doubt did much among the Wisconsin Chippewas to stem the tide of demoralization which upon the free advent of the whites overwhelmed so many of our Western tribes.

James's family did not long remain at La Pointe. Wheeler was soon recognized as the leading spirit there, although Hall did useful service in the field of publication, his translation of the New Testament into Chippewa (com-

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[1] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII., p. 445. Mr. Davidson writes to me that in his opinion Ayer leaned to independency, and was really a Congregationalist; Hall is registered as such in the *Congregational Year Book* for 1859. "As to the La Pointe-Odanah church," continues Mr. Davidson, in his personal letter, "its early records make no mention of lay elders,—officers that are indispensable to Presbyterian organization. In manner of organization, it was independent, rather than strictly Congregational. This could not well be otherwise, with no church nearer than the one at Mackinaw. That was Presbyterian, as was its pastor, Rev. William M. Ferry. The La Pointe church adopted articles of faith of its own choosing, instead of holding itself bound by the Westminster confession. Moreover, the church was reorganized after the mission was transferred to the Presbyterian board. For this action there may have been some special reason that I know nothing about. But it seems to me a needless procedure if the church were Presbyterian before."

pleted in 1836) being among the earliest of Western books. Ayer eventually went to Minnesota. In May, 1845, owing to the removal of the majority of the La Pointe Indians to the new Odanah mission, on Bad River, Wheeler removed thither, and remained their civil, as well as spiritual, counselor until October, 1866, when he retired from the service, full of years and conscious of a record of noble deeds for the uplifting of the savage. Hall tarried at La Pointe until 1853, when he was assigned to Crow Wing reservation, on the Mississippi, thus ending the Protestant mission on Chequamegon Bay. The new church building, begun in 1837, near the present La Pointe landing, had fallen into sad decay, when, in July, 1892, it became the property of the Lake Superior Congregational Club, who purpose to preserve it as an historic treasure, being the first church-home of their denomination in Wisconsin.

Not far from this interesting relic of Protestant pioneering at venerable La Pointe, is a rude structure dedicated to an older faith. Widely has it been advertised, by poets, romancers, and tourist agencies, as "the identical log structure built by Père Marquette"; while within there hangs a picture which we are soberly told by the cicerone was "given by the Pope of that time to Marquette, for his mission church in the wilderness." It is strange how this fancy was born; stranger still that it persists in living, when so frequently proved unworthy of credence. It is as well known as any fact in modern Wisconsin history,—based on the testimony of living eyewitnesses, as well as on indisputable records,—that upon July 27, 1835, five years after Cadotte had introduced Ayer to Madelaine Island, there arrived at the hybrid village of La Pointe, with but three dollars in his pocket, a worthy Austrian priest, Father (afterwards Bishop) Frederic Baraga. By the side of the Indian graveyard

at Middleport, he at once erected "a log chapel, 50 x 20 ft. and 18 ft. high," and therein he said mass on the ninth of August, one hundred and sixty-four years after Marquette had been driven from Chequamegon Bay by the onslaught of the Western Sioux.[1] Father Baraga's resuscitated mission,—still bearing the name La Pointe, as had the mainland missions of Allouez and Marquette,—throve apace. His "childlike simplicity," kindly heart, and self-sacrificing labors in their behalf, won to him the Creoles and the now sadly-impoverished tribesmen; and when, in the winter of 1836-37, he was in Europe begging funds for the cause, his simple-hearted enthusiasm met with generous response from the faithful.

Returning to La Pointe in 1837, he finished his little chapel, built log-houses for his half-starved parishioners, and lavished attentions upon them; says Father Verwyst, himself an experienced missionary among the Chippewas: "In fact, he gave them too much altogether—so to say—spoiled them by excessive kindness." Four years later, his chapel being ill-built and now too small, he had a new one constructed at the modern village of La Pointe; some of the materials of the first being used in the second. This is the building, blessed by Father Baraga on the second Sunday of August, 1841, which is to-day falsely shown to visitors as that of Father Marquette. It is needless to say that no part of the ancient mainland chapel of the Jesuits went into its construction; as for the picture, a "Descent from the Cross," alleged to have once been in Marquette's chapel, we have the best of testimony that it was imported by Father Baraga himself from Europe in 1841, he having obtained it there the preceding winter, when upon a second tour to Rome, this time to

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[1] See Father Verwyst's *Missionary Labors*, pp. 146-149. This chapel was built partly out of new logs, and partly out of material from an old building given to Father Baraga by the American Fur Company.

raise funds for the new church.[1] This remarkable man, though later raised to a missionary bishopric, continued throughout his life to labor for the uplifting of the Indians of the Lake Superior country with a self-sacrificing zeal which is rare in the annals of any church, and established a lasting reputation as a student of Indian philology. He left La Pointe mission in 1853, to devote himself to the Menomonees, leaving his work among the Chippewas of Chequamegon Bay to be conducted by others. About the year 1877, the white town of Bayfield, upon the mainland opposite, became the residence of the Franciscan friars who were now placed in charge. Thus, while the Protestant mission, after a relatively brief career of prosperity, has long since been removed to Odanah, the Catholics to this day retain possession of their ancient field in Chequamegon Bay.

In closing, let us briefly rehearse the changes in the location of La Pointe, and thus clear our minds of some misconceptions into which several historians have fallen.

1. As name-giver, we have Point Chequamegon (or Shagawaumikong). Originally a long sand-spit hemming in Chequamegon Bay on the east, it is now an island. The most conspicuous object in the local topography, it gave name to the district; and here, at the time of the Columbian discovery, was the Chippewa stronghold.

2. The mission of La Pointe du St. Esprit, founded by Allouez, was, it seems well established, on the mainland at the southwestern corner of the bay, somewhere between the present towns of Ashland and Washburn, and possibly

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[1] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XII., pp. 445, 446, note. Also Verwyst's *Missionary Labors*, pp. 183, 184. Father Verwyst also calls attention to certain vestments at La Pointe, said to be those of Marquette: "That is another fable which we feel it our duty to explode. The vestments there were procured by Bishop Baraga and his successors; not one of them dates from the seventeenth century."

on the site of Radisson's fort. The *point* which suggested to Allouez the name of his mission was, of course, the neighboring Point Chequamegon.

3. The entire region of Chequamegon Bay came soon to bear this name of La Pointe, and early within the present century it was popularly attached to the island which had previously borne many names, and to-day is legally designated Madelaine.

4. When Cadotte's little trading village sprang up, on the southwestern extremity of the island, on the site of the old Chippewa village and the old French forts, this came to be particularly designated as La Pointe.

5. When the American Fur Company established a new fort, a few miles north of the old, the name La Pointe was transferred thereto. This northern village was in popular parlance styled "New Fort," and the now almost-deserted southern village "Old Fort"; while the small settlement around the Indian graveyard midway, where Father Baraga built his first chapel, was known as "Middleport."

La Pointe has lost much of its old-time significance. No longer is it the refuge of starveling tribes, chased thither by Iroquois, harassed by unneighborly Sioux, and consoled in a measure by the ghostly counsel of Jesuit fathers; no longer a centre of the fur-trade, with *coureurs de bois* gayly dight, self-seeking English and American factors, Creole traders dispensing *largesse* to the dusky relatives of their forest brides, and rollicking *voyageurs* taking no heed of the morrow. Its forest commerce has departed, with the extinction of game and the opening of the Lake Superior country to industrial and agricultural occupation; the Protestant mission has followed the majority of the Indian islanders to mainland reservations; the revived mission of Mother Church has also been quartered upon the bay shore. But the natural charms of

Madelaine island, in rocky dell, and matted forest, and sombre, pine-clad shore, are with us still, and over all there floats an aroma of two and a half centuries of historic association, the appreciation of which we need to foster in our materialistic West, for we have none too much of it.

THE FOOD OF CERTAIN AMERICAN INDIANS AND THEIR METHODS OF PREPARING IT.

BY LUCIEN CARR.

THE theory that "a man is what he eats" can hardly be said to account for all the phenomena that attended the progress of the human race from savagery to civilization, and yet there is truth enough in it to justify an examination into the food supply of any people whose position in the scale of development may become a subject of inquiry. Especially is this true of savage and barbarous peoples, or rather it will apply to any people—ourselves for example—in the early phases of existence; for within certain limits, there is believed to be no surer indicator of the different culture periods through which the race has progressed, than can be found in the arts of subsistence as they have been successively developed. Between the fruit and nut diet to which primeval man is supposed to have been limited, and the luxurious dinner table of his civilized descendant, there was a long and wearisome journey; and looking back over the record, we find it divided into certain steps or stages, of which the hunter, the herdsman and the farmer may be considered as living embodiments.

Useful as is this classification, it is arbitrary, and so far as it is based upon only one of the many lines of development along which the race must move, it is incomplete. So, too, there are instances in which, owing to what Morgan[1] terms "the unequal endowment of the two hemispheres" in the way of animal and plant life, it is inapplicable. On the other hand, it possesses the merit of describing states of society that are not only not imaginary,

[1] Ancient Society, pp. 11, 22, 25: New York, 1877.

but are in actual existence; and these states follow each other in such an orderly fashion that civilization may be said to have grown up through them.[1] It is even doubtful whether it could have been developed under any other conditions.

Upon this point an examination into the methods of subsistence of our North American Indians may throw some light. When first known to us, they were hunters, *i. e.*, they were still in the first or lowest stage of existence; for although they cultivated corn,[2] beans, tobacco[3] and

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[1] Tylor, Anthropology, p. 24: New York, 1881.

[2] "It was found in cultivation from the southern extremity of Chili to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, beyond which limits the low temperature renders it an uncertain crop": Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 23, New York, 1873. "Le Mahiz . . . est la nourriture principale des Peuples de l' Amérique": Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Tome III., p. 342, Paris, 1758. "Le mais . . . lequel est le fondement de la nourriture de presque toutes les Nations sédentaires d' un bout de l' Amérique à l' autre": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Tome III., p. 57, Paris, 1724. *Cf. Maize: A Botanical and Economic Study*, by John W. Harshberger, Philadelphia, 1893.

[3] "There groweth also a certain kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great provision for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beaste's skinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of wood or stone like a pipe: then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other end sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the Tonnell of a chimney": Cartier, in Hakluyt's *Early English Voyages to America*, Vol. II., p. 127, Edinburgh, 1889. "Nous y veismes force citrouilles, courges et petuns qu' ils cultivent aussi": Champlain, describing Indians of New England, Vol. I., pp. 95, 113, Paris, 1830. "Noz sauvages font aussi grand labourage de *Petun*. . . . Ils soutiendront quelque fois la faim huit jours avec cette fumée": Lescarbot, p. 811, Paris, 1866. *Cf.* Hariot, in Hakluyt, II., p. 339, Edinburgh, 1889. Adair, *History of the North American Indians*, p. 408, London, 1775. Beverly, *Histoire de la Virginie*, p. 207, Amsterdam, 1707. Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. III., p. 360, Paris, 1758. Bartram, *Travels through Florida*, pp. 91, 191, Dublin, 1793. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 257, London, 1824, tells us that the Osages "raised it for the consumption of their families," and Carver, *Travels*, p. 37, says that the Winnebagoes of Wisconsin cultivated it. In the Relation for 1642, p. 97, and 1667, p. 23, Quebec, 1858, we find that the Sioux, "cultivent la terre à la façon de nos Hurons, recueillent du bled d' Inde et du Petun." Of the religious uses of tobacco, and of its effects physical, mental and moral, consult Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, III., pp. 115 *et seq.*, Paris,

other things, and were thus entitled to rank as farmers, yet they had no domestic animals,[1] unless dogs are to be considered as such,[2] and this made them dependent upon the chase for a large part of their food, and, of course, limited or rather prevented their progress beyond the savage condition in which they were found. Whether, alone and unaided, they could have extricated themselves from this anomalous position, is a matter into which we need not inquire. All that can be said is that they had the buffalo;[3] and whilst it was certainly possible for them to utilize this animal in the shambles and in the cultivation of their fields, in such a manner as to give them practical control in the production of their food supply, yet they had not done so; and we may be very sure that without such control, popu-

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1724. Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, pp. 35 *et seq.*, New York, 1852. Charlevoix, V., pp. 311 *et seq.*, and VI., pp. 48, 70, 71, Paris, 1744. Perrot, pp. 20, 21, 66, 276, *etc.*, Leipzig and Paris, 1864. Father Gravier in *Shea's Early Voyages*, pp. 129 *et seq.* Josselyn's Two Voyages in 3d Series, Massachusetts Hist. Collections, Vol. III., p. 262. Relations, 1611, p. 16, Quebec, 1858. Williams's Key in *Narragansett Club Publications*, I., p. 43.

[1] Gomara's statement "No tienen sus dueños otra riqueza" in *Historie General de los Indias*, p. 275, Anvers, 1554, is sometimes quoted as proof that the Indians had domesticated the buffalo, but it does not necessarily bear that interpretation, and besides it lacks confirmation. The same remark will apply to Champlain's statement, Vol. I., p. 377, Paris, 1830, that the Indians of Canada "engraissent aussi des ours qu' ils gardent deux ou trois ans pour se festoyer." That the Indians tamed turkeys, eagles, cranes and perhaps some other birds, as well as different kinds of animals, is well known, but they do not come within the terms of my assertion.

[2] Among the Indians of the plains, dogs were used as beasts of burden at a very early date. On this point see Gomara, in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages*, Vol. III., p. 137, Edinburgh, 1890, and Castaneda in Ternaux Compans, IX., pp. 117, 190. The latter author says: "Les Querechos y Teyas ont de grands troupeaux de chiens qui portent leur bagage; ils l' attachent sur le dos de ces animaux au moyen d' une sangle et d' une petit bât. Quand le charge se dérange les chiens se mettent à hurler pour avertir leur maître de l' arranger."

[3] The buffalo was probably a late comer east of the Mississippi. J. A. Allen, in *American Bisons Living and Extinct*, Cambridge, 1876, discusses at some length the question of the eastern limit of the range of the animal, and concludes that except in small numbers and occasional bands, it was not known east of the Alleghanys or south of the Tennessee. It did not reach either Canada or New York and the evidence of its existence in Florida and Alabama is regarded as doubtful.

lation must necessarily have been limited,[1] and civilization on the lines on which they were moving was impossible.

But whilst all this is too plain to admit of an argument, it is well to remember that the terms hunter, herdsman and farmer and their analogues, savage, barbarian and civilized man, are general in their character, and like the conditions they describe, are susceptible of division. Indeed, there are occasions when even these minor divisions are so widely divergent that it may become necessary, in determining the culture-status of a people, to lay aside the general classification altogether, and go into a critical examination of the details of their daily life. Such, in fact, seems to be the case with our Indians. For reasons given above, their advance along the lines over which they had to pass in their progress from savagery to civilization, was so unequal that, on comparing them with their fellow savages of the eastern world, they will be found to have lagged behind in certain respects, whilst in others they were far ahead. Obviously, in a case of this kind the term savage, considered as a measure of progress, would have two very different meanings; and naturally enough, pictures taken from two such discordant points of view would have but little in common. To mark these discrepancies, and thus fix the Indian's place in the scale of civilization, as far as a study of the subject will enable us to do so, is the object of this inquiry into the food of certain of our tribes and their different methods of preparing it.

Speaking in a general way, the old chronicler was not far wrong when he told us that the Indian "lived on what he got by hunting, fishing and cultivating the soil."[2] Unquestionably, he derived the bulk of his food from these sources, though there were times, and unfortunately they

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[1] *Cf.* Gallatin, *Origin of American Civilization*, in Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I., p. 194: New York, 1845.

[2] "Leur coutume est que chaque mesnage vit de ce qu' il pesche, chasse et seme": Sagard, *Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, Vol. I., p. 92: Paris, 1865.

were somewhat frequent, when he was glad to fill out his bill of fare with the fruits, nuts and edible roots and grasses with which a bountiful nature supplied him. Dividing all these different articles according to their nature and origin, and beginning with those the production of which is believed to indicate racial progress, we find that corn, beans and pumpkins were cultivated wherever, within the limits of the United States, they could be grown to advantage. Of these corn was by far the most important; and as it seems to have been the main dependence[1] of all the tribes that lived south of the St. Lawrence and east of the tier of States that lines the west bank of the Mississippi, and as the manner of cultivating it and the different ways of cooking it were practically the same everywhere and at all times, we shall confine our remarks to it and to the Indians living within these limits, merely premising that much of what is said about it will apply to "its sisters," as

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[1] "Leur principal manger et vivre ordinaire est le bled d' Inde, et febves du Brésil qu' ils accommodent en plusieurs façons": Champlain, I., p. 374, Paris, 1830. "Corn is their chief produce and main dependance": Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 407. "Les vivres que les sauvages aiment le plus et qu' ils recherchent davantage, sont le bled d' Inde, les febves d' aricots et la citrouille. S' ils en manquoient, ils croiroient jeûner, quelque abondance de viande ou de poissons qu' ils eussent chez eux": Perrot, p. 51, Leipzig, 1864. "Their food is generally boiled maize, or Indian corn, mixed with kidney beans, or sometimes without": Gookin, in first series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 150. "Ils regardaient toujours le blé comme le principal soutien de leur vie . . . ou qu' il leur arrivât quelque autre fâcheux revers, qui les empechait d' aller à la chasse & à la Pêche. Alors le Maïz avec quelque peu de Pois, de Fèves . . . servait à l' entretien de leur femmes & de leurs enfans": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 203, Amsterdam, 1707. I have not an English edition of this valuable little book and make use of a French translation. *Cf.* Cyrus Thomas in *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 617 *et seq.*, and *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, Historically considered*, in the Smithsonian Report for 1891, pp. 507–533 inclusive. It may be well to add that in this latter paper, the cultivation of corn by the Indians east of the Mississippi is discussed at length, and the reasons are there given which led me to the conclusion "that they raised corn in large quantities, and stored it in caches and granaries for winter use." Washington, 1893. "They live on Indian corn, and other fruits of the earth, which they cultivated on the prairies, like other Indians." Narrative of Father Allouez in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 75.

beans and squashes were lovingly termed by the Iroquois.[1]

And here, at the outset of our investigation, we are met by the fact that modern research has failed to throw a positive light upon the question of its origin. That it was indigenous to America is generally believed, and so, also, the statement that it was first cultivated at some point between the tropics is accepted.[2] Beyond this we have not been able to go; and without entering into a discussion of the subject, it is probably safe to assume that this is as near the truth as we can hope to get. However, be this as it may, there seems to be no doubt that its domestication took place ages ago, for in no other way is it thought possible to account for the vast extent of country over which its use had spread, and for the number of varieties to which it had given rise. Take our own country, for example, and when the whites first landed here, there were found growing, within certain limited areas, a number of different kinds, distinguished one from another, by the length of time they took to ripen, by the size of the ear, by the shape and hardness of the grain and by the color, though this is said to be accidental.[3]

In addition to these, which were known to the whites as hominy corn, bread corn and six-weeks corn,[4] there was still another sort, called by the French *blé fleuri*, and by ourselves pop-corn, of which the Indians were very fond, and which they served up to those of their guests whom they wished to honor.[5] With so many kinds, and planting them at differ-

[1] Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 203, 204: Rochester, 1851.

[2] "Maize originated in all probability . . . north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and south of the twenty-second degree of north latitude, near the ancient seat of the Maya tribes." This is Harshberger's opinion in Vol. I., No. 2, of the Contributions from the Botanical Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania, and I give it as being one of the latest expressions on the subject. Gallatin, in *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. I., pp. 195 *et seq.*, may be consulted to advantage.

[3] Beverly, *Histoire de la Virginie*, pp. 203 *et seq.*, Amsterdam, 1707. *Cf.* Le Page du Pratz, Vol. II., pp. 3 *et seq.*, Paris, 1758. Hariot in *Hakluyt's Early Voyages*, Vol. II., p. 336, Edinburgh, 1889.

[4] Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 407: London, 1775.

[5] Lafitau, III., p. 85, Paris, 1724. Charlevoix, Tome VI., p. 46, Paris, 1744.

ent times during the spring and early summer, they not only had successive crops which they ate green as long as the season lasted,[1] but they also raised enough for winter use and, not unfrequently, had some to spare to their needy neighbors, white as well as red. Indeed, their pedlers made long trips for the purpose of exchanging their surplus corn for skins and anything else that they needed;[2] and but for the supplies which the Pilgrim fathers,[3] and we may add the settlers at Jamestown[4] and New Orleans,[5] "obtained from the Indians willingly or through force," it is probable, as a recent writer suggests, "that there would have been but few if any of their descendants left to write their histories and sing their praises."[6]

[1] Capt. Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, Vol. I., p. 126: Richmond, 1819. Laudonnière, *Histoire notable de la Floride*, p. 11: Paris, 1853. Narrative of Father Marquette, p. 48, in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*: New York, 1852. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 207: London, 1718. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 246: Amsterdam, 1707.

[2] "Et continuent ainsi jusques à ce qu' ils en ayent pour deux ou trois ans de provision, . . . ou bien pour l' aller traicter en d' autres nations pour des pelletries, ou autres choses qui leur font besoin": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, Vol. I., p. 92, Paris, 1865. "Their manner of trading is for copper, beads and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, foule, fish, flesh and their country corne": Smith, *Virginia*, p. 137, Richmond, 1819. *Cf.* Charlevoix, V., p. 384, Paris, 1744. Champlain, Vol. I., pp. 357, 378, 382, Paris, 1830. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 58, 176, 208, London, 1718. Cabeça de Vaca, translated by Buckingham Smith, pp. 85 *et seq.*: New York, 1871. Lafitau, IV., pp. 42, 43, Paris, 1724.

[3] "They got in this vioage, in one place and other about 26 or 28 hogsheads of corne and beans": Bradford's, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, in fourth series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., p. 129. "Others fell to plaine stealing both night and day from ye Indeans, of which they grievously complained . . . Yea, in ye end, they were faine to hange one of their men whom they could not reclaime from stealing": *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[4] "Such was the weaknesse of this poore commonwealth as, had the salvages not fed us, we directlie had starved": Smith, *Virginia*, Vol. II., p. 30, Richmond, 1819. See, also, Vol. I., pp. 163, 191, etc., etc. "Many were billeted amongst the salvages": *Ibid.*, p. 229. *Cf.* Master George Percy in Purchas, Pilgrims, Vol. IV., p. 1690: London, 1625.

[5] "Plusieurs Nations sauvages s' etablirent sur le Mississippi assez pres de la Nouvelle Orleans et comme la plupart de ces Peuples sont dans l' usage de cultiver la terre, ils defricherent de grands terreins, ce qui fut une resource pour cette ville a laquelle ils ont souvent fourni des vivres dans le besoin": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, Vol. IV., p. 198, Paris, 1744.

[6] Thomas, in *Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 619: Washington, 1894.

As a rule, but by no means an invariable one, the work of planting and the care of the fields were left to the women of the tribe.[1] It seems to have been a part of their share of the labor which the duty of providing for the family imposed upon the sexes; and so far from being either onerous or compulsory,[2] it was carried on much in the manner of the husking, quilting and other frolics[3] of their English neighbors. Thus, we are told that the people of each village worked together in common, though the harvest was gathered separately. When notified by the town crier "that the time had come for planting their corn, and that they who will not work must pay a fine or leave the town,"[4] they began at one end of the common field, in a plot or patch of ground chosen by lot, and when this was finished they took up the next adjoining one, and so on until the whole field was planted.[5] "Sometimes one of their orators cheers them with jests and humorous old tales,

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[1] "That whilst as a fact the women, children, old men and slaves always cultivated the fields, yet the warriors cleared the ground, and when not engaged in war or hunting, aided in working and harvesting the crop, though the amount of such assistance varied, being greater among the tribes south of the Ohio, and less among the Iroquois or Six Nations": Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, in Smithsonian Report for 1891, p. 533.

[2] "Au reste ce travail n' est pas penible": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 23, Paris, 1744. "Elles trauaillent ordinairement plus que les hommes, encore qu' elles n' y soient point forcées ny contraintes": Sagard, I., p. 90, Paris, 1865. "The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness": Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 155, Philadelphia, 1876. *Cf.* Joutel in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, p. 149. Relation, 1634, p. 28, Quebec, 1858.

[3] Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 156, Philadelphia, 1876.

[4] Adair, p. 407, London, 1775. "None are exempted from their share of labor": Hawkins, Sketch of Creek Country, p. 35, Savannah, 1848. "Do not allow any one to be idle, but all must employ themselves in some Work or other": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 179, London, 1718.

[5] Lorsque la saison de labourer la terre est venue, on s' assemble quelquefois jusqu' à cent Personnes, les Hommes et les Femmes séparement. Ils travaillent ainsi jusqu' à ce qu' ils ayent cultivé une certain portion de Terrein dont le Propriétaire regale ensuite les Travailleurs, et le reste du jour se passe à danser et à se divertir. Le lendemain on recommence, et cela dure jusqu' à ce que tous les Champs soient labourés": Charlevoix, III., p. 23, and VI., p. 45, Paris, 1744. *Cf.* Lafitau, III., p. 70, Paris, 1724. Bartram's *Travels*, p. 510, Dublin, 1793. Joutel, p. 149. Williams's Key, pp. 92, 93.

and sings several of their most agreeable wild tunes, beating also with a stick in his right hand, on the top of an earthen pot covered with a wet and well-stretched deer-skin."[1] Having completed their task they were usually feasted by the families for whom they had worked.[2]

In regard to the size of these several plots or holdings, there does not appear to have been any fixed rule.[3] Each person could reduce as much unoccupied land to cultivation as he pleased, and so long as he continued to use it, his right to it was protected. If, however, he abandoned it, anyone else might come in and take possession, for according to their ideas, the land belonged to the tribe and no person could acquire an absolute title to any portion of it.[4] But whilst we are in the dark as to the size of these individual holdings, it is possible from an examination of the early records and the reports of different military expeditions to get a more or less correct idea of the size of their common fields. For example, we are told that in 1674, the Indians had one thousand acres under corn at Mt. Hope.[5] In 1687, Denonville invaded the Iroquois country, burned four villages, and including the corn in *cache* and what was standing, is said to have

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[1] Adair, p. 407, London, 1775. Tonti, in *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, Part I., p. 62.

[2] Heckwelder, p. 156: Philadelphia, 1876. Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 22: Paris, 1744. Joutel in *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, I., p. 149.

[3] "Their houses are in the midst of their fields or gardens, which are small plots of ground. Some 20 acres, some 40, some 100, some 200, some more, some lesse." Smith, *Virginia*, p. 131, Richmond, 1819. "Every dwelling-house has a small field pretty close to it . . . Their large fields lie quite open with regard to fencing": Adair, p. 406, London, 1775. *Cf.* Bartram, *Florida*, pp. 191, 192, for account of their several gardens and the common field.

[4] Sagard, p. 92: Paris, 1865. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 326: Rochester, 1851. At a council held in St. Louis in 1810, Le Sonneur, an Osage chief, declared: "our country belongs to our posterity as well as to ourselves; it is not absolutely ours; we received it only for our lifetime, and then to transmit it to our descendants": Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, Pittsburgh, 1814.

[5] Drake, *Indians of North America*, fifteenth edition, p. 209.

destroyed 400,000 minots or 1,200,000 bushels;[1] and General Sullivan in his campaign against these same tribes in 1779, destroyed 160,000 bushels, and cut down in one orchard 1,500 apple trees.[2] Among the southern tribes we find the same story, for in the Gulf States their old fields were measured by miles and not by acres,[3] and General Wayne in December, 1794, writing from Grand Glaize, Ohio, says: the margins of the Miamis of the Lake and the Au Glaize, "appear like one continued village for a number of miles, both above and below this place; nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida."[4]

In preparing a field for cultivation, the first thing to be done was to clear it, and this portion of the work belonged to the men.[5] In a wooded region, as was the case with most of the country east of the Mississippi, and with the rude and imperfect implements at their disposal, this was no small task, and yet judging from the size of their fields and the amount of corn, etc., grown, they may be said to have been reasonably successful. With stone axes, they girdled and killed the trees, and then having burned the brush and dead wood,[6] they handed the field over to the

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[1] Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, II., p. 355: Paris, 1744. Compare Tonti, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, part I., p. 70. See La Hontan, *Voyages*, I., p. 101, A la Haye, 1703.

[2] *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, Vol. II., p. 334: New York, 1879. Compare Stone's *Life of Brant*, Vol. II., Chap. 1: Albany, 1865. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 199, 314: Rochester, 1851.

[3] Adair, pp. 225, 353, 411: London, 1775. Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 54, 330, 348, 350, 352: Dublin, 1793. Compare Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, pp. 152, 172, 203, &c. Herrera, V., p. 317: London, 1740.

[4] Quoted in *Our Indian Wards*, p. 84: Cincinnati, 1880. Compare Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 198, Louisville, 1834, where we are told that from four to five hundred acres of corn were destroyed.

[5] Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, III., p. 99: Paris, 1724. La Hontan, *Voyages*, II., p. 99, A la Haye, 1703. Charlevoix, VI., p. 45 Paris, 1744.

[6] Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 92, Paris, 1865. Williams's Key, p. 176. Narragansett Club Publications, Vol. I. Adair, p. 405: London, 1775. Champlain, I., p.113: Paris, 1830. Du Pratz, III., p. 343: Paris, 1758. Charlevoix, VI., p. 50: Paris, 1744.

women and their assistants who broke up the ground, using for this purpose hoes made of wood, bone, stone or shell.[1] Having put the ground in order, they planted the corn, which had been previously soaked in water, in rows three or four feet apart, and when it reached a suitable height they hilled it up.[2] Once or twice during the season they went over the field for the purpose of weeding it.[3] After this the crop was left to ripen, though a look-out was stationed on a scaffold, in the field, to guard against damage from birds, animals and thieves.[4] To the same end, "the mother of the family at some suitable time, when the children were asleep and the sky was overcast, divested herself of her garments and made the circuit of the field with her machicota trailing behind."[5]

Beans were sown in the same hills with the corn; and sometimes in between the rows they planted pumpkins of different kinds, watermelons and sunflowers, though, generally, these latter were cultivated separately in patches by themselves.[6] This was also true of sweet potatoes and

[1] For different kinds of hoes the reader is referred to Champlain, I., p. 95: Paris, 1830. Lescarbot, Part III., p. 807: Paris, 1866. Adair, p. 225: London, 1775. Williams's Key, p. 125, note p. 65, Narragansett Club Publications. Joutel, Journal in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, p. 149. Lafitau, III., p. 69: Paris, 1724. Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 66: London, 1794. Hariot, in Hakluyt's *Early Voyages*, II., p. 337: Edinburg, 1889. Laudonnière, *Histoire de la Floride*, p. 11: Paris, 1853. Romans, *East and West Florida*, p. 119. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 176, and III., p. 343: Paris, 1758.

[2] Sagard, p. 92: Paris, 1865. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 205: Amsterdam, 1707. Adair, 409. Compare authorities quoted in two preceding notes, all of whom describe the method of planting corn.

[3] Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 206: Amsterdam, 1707. Compare Lafitau, III., p. 70: Paris, 1724. Bartram, *Travels*, p. 510: Dublin, 1793. New England's Prospect, p. 79.

[4] Hariot's *Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia in 1585*, plate XX., London, 1893. Adair, p. 408: London, 1775. Williams's Key, p. 115.

[5] Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, V., p. 70.

[6] Adair, pp. 408, 409: London, 1775. Lafitau, III., p. 70: Paris, 1724. Beverly, p. 206: Amsterdam, 1707. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 257: London, 1824. Marquette, in *Discovery of the Mississippi*, p. 33. Champlain, I., p. 96: Paris, 1830. Hariot, in Hakluyt, II., p. 337: Edinburg, 1889. Joutel, Journal in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, p. 149. Romans, *East and West Florida*, p. 84: New York, 1776. Hawkins, *Sketch of Creek Country, passim:* Savannah, 1848.

tobacco, which were started in beds specially prepared for the purpose.[1]

When the corn was ripe the women and their aids and assistants gathered it, each family receiving only what was grown on its own patch. A certain amount, in the discretion of the giver, was set apart for the use of the poor and needy, for the exercise of tribal hospitality, and for defraying what may be justly termed public expenditures.[2] The rest was handed over to the owners, who arranged it in festoons along the sides of their cabins, or stored it in the tops of their houses, in caches, or in cribs and granaries.[3] Among some tribes, the situation of their caches was kept secret, for they knew very well that otherwise "they would have to supply the wants of every needy neighbor, as long as anything was left. This," we are told, "may

[1] Du Pratz, II., p. 10, and III., p. 361: Paris, 1758. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in 3d Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., III., p. 261. Compare Beverly, p. 206: Amsterdam, 1707. Lafitau, III., p. 71: Paris, 1724.

[2] "Previous to their carrying off their crops from the field, there is a large crib or granary, erected in the plantation, which is called the King's crib; and to this each family carries and deposits a certain quantity, according to his ability or inclination, or none at all if he so chooses: this in appearance seems a tribute or revenue to the mico; but in fact is designed for another purpose, *i. e.*, that of a public treasury, supplied by a few and voluntary contributions, and to which every citizen has the right of free and equal access, when his own private stores are consumed; to serve as a surplus to fly to for succor; to assist neighboring towns, whose crops may have failed; accommodate strangers or travellers; afford provisions or supplies when they go forth on hostile expeditions; and for all other exigencies of the State; and this treasure is at the disposal of the King or mico." Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 192, 510: Dublin, 1793. The Huron-Iroquois also had a public treasury in which their records were kept. It also contained wampum, corn, prisoners or slaves, fresh and dried meat, and in fact anything that might serve to defray the public expenses. See Lafitau, II., p. 202, and III., p. 247: Paris, 1724. Sagard, II., p. 261: Paris, 1865. Loskiel, p. 132. Charlevoix, V., p. 310. ". . . She had two store-Houses for the relief of the Needy, one of which she gave them, and desired they would leave her the other; for she had two thousand bushels of Mayz in another town which she would also give them": Herrera, V., p. 316, London, 1740. See, also, Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 292: London, 1824.

[3] Charlevoix, VI., p. 45: Paris, 1744. Lafitau, III., pp. 71, 72: Paris, 1724. Champlain, I., p. 119: Paris, 1830. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 16, 177: London, 1718. Knight of Elvas, in *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, pp. 137, 219: Philadelphia, 1850. Sagard, p. 93: Paris, 1865. Cartier, in Hakluyt's *Early Voyages*, II., p. 120: Edinburg, 1889.

occasion a famine, for some are so lazy that they will not plant at all, knowing that the more industrious cannot refuse to divide their store with them."[1] This same mistaken generosity, or practical communism of food will also account for the fact that when an Indian killed a deer or any other game, he frequently left it at some distance from his cabin and sent his wife to bring it in. She was under no obligation to divide with every person she met; whilst with him it was a case of *noblesse oblige.*[2]

Besides these articles which the Indian may be said to have owed to his own exertions, there were certain natural products, as *e. g.*, wild oats, tuckahoe, and koonti, of which extensive use was made, though this was limited to the times and places in which they grew and flourished. In Wisconsin, for example, the wild oats, or as we call it wild rice, furnished, at times, a good substitute for corn and was cooked in much the same way. According to Father Marquette,[3] it grew in marshy places and ripened in September, at which time the Indians gathered it in canoes. To free it from chaff, "they smoked it for several days on a wooden lattice, over a small fire." When dried, "they put it in a bag made of skin, forced it into a hole made on purpose in the ground and then

[1] Loskiel, p. 68: London, 1794. Laziness may have been true of some Delawares at this time, for they had been long in contact with whites, but it was not so generally of other tribes.

[2] "The custom is that if any man, in returning from his hunt, no matter how long and laborious it may have been, or how great may be the necessities of his own family, meet another just starting out to hunt, or even a little boy walking from the camp or village, he is bound to throw down at his feet and give him whatever he may have brought. It is partly to avoid the effect of this custom that the men oftentimes leave their game on the spot where they killed it, and the women are sent to bring in the meat. In other instances the hunter carries the animal on his back as far as he thinks he can without the risk of meeting men, then conceals it and goes home." Tanner, *Narrative*, p. 362: New York, 1830. Compare Cadillac, in V. Margry, p. 88. Charlevoix, V., p. 171. Relation, 1611, p. 13.

[3] Narrative in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 9: New York, 1852. Carver, *Travels*, p. 522: London, 1778. Jesuit Relation, 1663, p. 19; 1667, p. 23; 1671, p. 39: Quebec, 1858. Perrot, pp. 52, 189, 235: Leipzig et Paris, 1864.

tread it so long and well that it is easily winnowed." It is then pounded into meal, or cooked whole in water seasoned with grease, and in this shape it is almost as palatable as rice would be if prepared in the same way. Although growing most luxuriantly in the region of the upper Mississippi, it seems to have had quite an extensive range, for Flint speaks of seeing it in Louisiana,[1] Hunter tells us that it was gathered and eaten by the Osages of South-western Missouri,[2] and Captain Smith describes something very similar as being in use in Virginia.[3] The koonti had a more limited range and does not appear to have been known north of the Gulf States.[4] Laudonnière, probably, had it in mind when he tells us of a "root" which they call "hassez and of which in times of scarcity they make bread";[5] and in the fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology there is an account of the "pounding, pressing and cooking" by means of which the Seminole Indians of to-day free this plant from its injurious qualities, and reduce it to the shape in which it is served as broth, or made into cakes and baked.[6] Of the tuckahoe, we first hear through Captain Smith.[7] It was plentiful in Virginia, and seems to have been known in Texas[8] and elsewhere in the Gulf States. Like the koonti root, it was poisonous if eaten raw; and to prepare it for use as food, the Indians baked it in a pit for twenty-four hours. "It grew like a flagge," we are told, "in the marshes," and when made into bread it had "the taste of potatoes."

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[1] See Article in *North American Review*, Vol. 28. Compare Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, I., p. 317: Paris, 1758.

[2] *Memoirs*, pp. 58, 142, 256: London, 1824.

[3] *Virginia*, p. 123: Richmond, 1819. Hariot, in Hakluyt, III., p. 342: Edinburg, 1889. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 25.

[4] Hawkins, p. 21, speaks of it as being in use among Creeks of Georgia.

[5] *Histoire de la Floride*, p. 5: Paris, 1853.

[6] pp. 513 *et seq.*: Washington, 1887. Compare Bartram, *Florida*, p. 239.

[7] *Virginia*, p. 123: Richmond, 1819. Smithsonian Report for 1881, p. 687.

[8] "They served up to us among other things a sagamity, made of a kind of root called Toque, or Toquo": Narrative of Father Douay, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 199: New York, 1852.

These were some of the more substantial, as they certainly were among the more desirable, of the natural products to which, in their times and places, the Indian had recourse. The list, however, is by no means complete, for he was acquainted with a number of plants of which the white man knew nothing;[1] and there were others, like the so-called *tripe-de-roche*,[2] ground nuts,[3] the bark of

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[1] "They eat fourteen kinds of roots which they find in the prairies; . . . I found them good and sweet. They gather on trees or plants, fruits of forty-two different kinds, which are excellent; they catch twenty-five kinds of fish, including eels. They hunt cattle, deer, turkeys, cats, a kind of tiger, and other animals, of which they reckon twenty-two kinds, and forty kinds of game and birds," Narrative of Father Allouez, p. 75, New York, 1852. "They are acquainted with a great many roots and herbs, of which the general part of the English have not the least knowledge": Adair, pp. 410, 412: London, 1775. *Cf.* Perrot, 195, 196: Leipzig et Paris, 1864. Father Sagard, II., p. 231. Marest, in *Kip's Jesuit Missions*, p. 97: New York, 1846. Heckwelder, pp. 193 and 199: Philadelphia, 1876. Relation, 1634, p. 36: Quebec, 1858. Champlain, I., pp. 101, 111: Paris, 1830.

[2] This lichen grows on rocks and was frequently used in seasons of scarcity. "Il y en a deux sortes . . . Il ne faut qu' un bouillon à la première pour bouillir, et apres, la laissant un peu aupres du feu, et la remuant de temps en temps avec un baston, on la rend semblable à de la colle noire. Il faut fermer les yeux quand on commence à en gouster, et prendre garde que les levres ne se collent l' une á l' autre": Relation, 1671, p. 35. *Cf.* Relations, 1663, p. 18, and 1667, p. 6: Quebec, 1858. Charlevoix, VI., p. 47: Paris, 1744. Perrot, p. 52: Paris, 1864. There was a difference of opinion about this lichen as an article of food and even the same writer does not always tell the same story. Thus, for example, Father Rasle, in *Jesuit Missions*, p. 31, says that "it was by no means unpalatable," and yet on p. 63 he tells us that it was "a paste very black and disagreeable."

[3] This was probably what the French called "des Chapelets, pour ce qu' elle est distingué par nœuds en forme de graines:" Relation, 1634, p. 36, Quebec, 1858. "Grounds nuts as big as Egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40 on a string not two ynches under ground": Gosnold, in *Smith's Virginia*, p. 107, Richmond, 1819. *Cf.* Hariot, in Hakluyt, II., p. 340, Edinburg, 1889. Father Rasle, p. 59, says: "When the corn fails them, they search in the ploughed land for Potatoes." Loskiel, p. 67, says: "They likewise plant a species of pulse called ground-nuts (arachis hypogœa) because the root only is eaten. When they are boiled they taste almost like chestnuts but cannot be eaten raw." I do not know that this is the root first described, and the same may be said of the "Racines grosses comme naveaux, tres excellentes à manger, ayans un gout retirant aux cardes, mais plus agreable, lesquelles planties multiplient en telle facon que c' est merveille": Lescarbot, III., 813, Paris, 1876. Adair, p. 409; Hawkins, p. 21; and MacCauley, in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 504, speaks of a "wild" or "bog potatoe" as being an article of food among the Southern Indians.

certain trees, etc., etc.,[1] which have never been recognized in our cuisine, though there were times when the Indian was obliged to resort to them, and to even more unsavory materials, in order to give character to his otherwise tasteless broth. They also had a great variety of fruits; such as plums, persimmons, grapes and berries of different kinds[2] of which they made liberal provision. Some of all these they ate fresh as we do, whilst others were dried, and used in winter, either as a kind of desert or as a seasoning in their bread and broth.[3] In this same category must be included maple sugar and, if we may credit the Knight of Elvas,[4] wild honey, though the common honey-bee is said to have been introduced into this country by the whites. As to the maple sugar, however, there can be no doubt. It was made wherever the tree grew,[5] and it found especial favor as an ingredient in their preparation

[1] "Eat bark of chestnut and walnut trees—dry and eat it with fat of beasts and sometimes of man": Williams's Key, p. 42. *Cf.* Lafitau, III., p. 84: Paris, 1724. Relation, 1634, p. 36. Sagard, p. 98, and pp. 231 *et seq.:* Paris, 1865. Perrot, pp. 58, 59, 194, 195, &c., speaks of what he calls "pomme de terres, ognons," &c., and describes the methods of cooking them. They were not our potatoes and onions. See, also, Hunter, *Memoirs*, pp. 257, 258.

[2] Father Marest, in *Kip's Jesuit Missions*, p. 198: New York, 1846. Charlevoix, VI., p. 141: Paris, 1744. Lawson, p. 102 *et seq.:* London, 1718. Lescarbot, III., p. 813: Paris, 1866. Adair, p. 409: London, 1775. Williams's Key, pp. 121 *et seq.* Joutel's *Journal*, p. 176. Capt. Smith, p. 122. Loskiel, pp. 68 *et seq.* Beverly, *Virginie*, pp. 179 *et seq.:* Amsterdam, 1707. Knight of Elvas, *passim*, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, Part II. Hunter, pp. 58, 257: London, 1824. Sagard, II., p. 230: Paris, 1865.

[3] Father Membré, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 171. Williams's Key, pp. 121, 122. Romans, *Florida*, p. 94. Bartram's (John) *Observations*, p. 73. Heckwelder, p. 195. Du Pratz, II., p. 18: Paris, 1758. Narrative of Father Marquette, p. 44. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 208: London, 1718. Bradbury, *Travels in America*, p. 37: Liverpool, 1817. Knight of Elvas, p. 186.

[4] Hist. Coll. Louisiana, Part II., p. 148. Laudonnière, p. 9: Paris, 1853. I find no other mention of honey in the earliest writers, but "young wasps, when they are white in the combs," according to Lawson, p. 178, were "esteemed a dainty," and there were bees, other than the honey bee, found in this country which made honey.

[5] Lafitau, III., pp. 140 *et seq.:* Paris, 1724. Loskiel, p. 72: London, 1794. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 290: London, 1824. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 192: Amsterdam, 1707. Adair, p. 416: London, 1775. Compare Charlevoix, V., pp. 178 *et seq.*

of parched corn-meal, or as we call it, nocake or rocka-hominy.[1] They also cooked corn in the syrup "after the fashion of pralines,"[2] which was a favorite dish with them, as a similar preparation is to-day with us; and in more recent times they also made a preserve of plums which is said to have been good.[3] Among some tribes, and in recent times, this sugar may be said to have taken the place of salt,[4] though this latter article was known to them from the earliest times.[5] Of nuts they had "a great variety and an infinite store," and besides using them as we do, they pounded them in a mortar and made them into bread or broth, or used them to mix with their hominy.[6] Of some of these preparations they were extravagantly fond, as for example of their hickory milk, which Bartram[7] tells us was "as sweet and rich as fresh cream." To make it, they first "pound the nuts to pieces upon a stone thick and hollowed for the purpose," and then "cast them into

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[1] Loskiel, p. 67: London, 1794. Lafitau, III., p. 143: Paris, 1724. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, pp. 318, 320: London, 1860.

[2] Lafitau, III., p. 143: Paris, 1724. Joutel, Journal in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, I., p. 191.

[3] Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, pp. 318, 319: London, 1860. *Cf.* Heckwelder, p. 194: Philadelphia, 1876.

[4] *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 319.

[5] Knight of Elvas, in *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, pp. 179, 194. Du Pratz, I., p. 307. Paris, 1724. Bartram's (John) *Observations*, p. 45. Use the ashes "du Hiccory . . . ou de quelque autre Bois ou Plante de cette nature dont la cendre est salée", Beverly, p. 245: Amsterdam, 1707. Adair, p. 116: London, 1775. Bradbury, *Travels in America*, p. 158. *Per contra*, among many tribes, salt was unknown or at least it is so stated. In Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II., pp. 190 *et seq.*, will be found an account of the Salines of the Arkansas: New York, 1844. *Cf.* Relation, 1657, p. 13: Quebec, 1858.

[6] Hariot, in Hakluyt II., 341: Edinburg, 1889. Knight of Elvas, *passim*, Hist. Coll. Louisiana. Lawson, pp. 28 and 98. Charlevoix, VI., p. 140: Paris, 1744. Narrative of Father Membré, p. 171. Loskiel, pp. 70, 71. Adair, p. 409: London, 1775. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 257. Gookin, in first series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 150. Du Pratz, II., pp. 382, 383, tells us that the 12th and 13th months were respectively called "des chataignes Glands" and "des Noix."

[7] Bartram (William) Florida, p. 38: Dublin, 1793. Compare Capt. Smith, pp. 122, 223: Richmond, 1819. Loskiel, p. 71: London, 1794. Romans, pp. 68, 84, 94: New York, 1776. Adair, p. 409. Lawson, Carolina, pp. 98 and 28: London, 1718. Beverly, p. 246: Amsterdam, 1707. Hariot, p. 341.

boiling water, which, after passing through fine strainers preserves the most oily part of the liquid. It is used as an ingredient in most of their cooking especially hominy and corn cakes," and it also furnished an agreeable drink. Sometimes they skimmed off the oil, which floated on the water in which the nuts were boiled, and kept it in gourds or earthen pots, etc., using it as we do butter, on their bread or to give body and flavor to their broth when meat was scarce.[1] Sunflower seed was treated in the same way,[2] though among the northern tribes the oil made from it was not eaten but was used on the hair.[3] Of acorns, too, they had a great abundance, which they were in the habit of making into bread or broth, having first soaked them in lye, or in successive rinsings of water in order to remove the bitter taste.[4] They were also boiled, and the oil that rose to the top was skimmed off and preserved in jars, gourds, skins,[5] etc., as was the case with the oil of walnuts and the fat of bears, buffaloes, seals and other animals.[6]

In preparing and serving these different articles the Indian had need of certain utensils which may be roughly classed as kitchen and table ware. Of these, the pot or kettle, to boil his hominy or stew his meat, was first in point of general utility by virtue of the fact that most of his cooking was done in this way. As a rule,

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[1] Biedma, *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, part II., p. 101. Knight of Elvas, p. 148. Loskiel, p. 71. Williams's Key., p. 120.

[2] Beverly, Virginie, p. 245: Amsterdam, 1707. Romans, *Florida*, p. 84: New York, 1776. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 25: London, 1718. Hariot, in Hakluyt, II., p. 337: Edinburg, 1889.

[3] Charlevoix, V., p. 240: Paris, 1744.

[4] Relation, 1671, p. 35: Quebec, 1858. Lawson, Carolina, p. 45: London, 1718. Capt. Smith, p. 121: Richmond, 1819. Lafitau, III., p. 83. Father Rasle in *Kip's Jesuit Missions*, p. 59: New York, 1846. Laudonnière, p. 12: Paris, 1853.

[5] Beverly, p. 250. Lawson, p. 45. Capt. Smith, p. 121: Richmond, 1819.

[6] Du Pratz, I., p. 314, and II., p. 88: Paris, 1758. Relation, 1611, &c., p. 9: Quebec, 1858. Romans, pp. 68, 92, &c. Lawson, Carolina, pp. 44, 208: London, 1718. Adair, p. 415: London, 1775. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 259: London, 1824.

these pots were made of clay[1] (though soapstone was occasionally used[2]), mixed with powdered shells or some other material, and were so thoroughly baked that they could withstand the action of fire. They were of different sizes, ranging from two to ten or even twenty gallons, and were generally distributed from Canada to Florida.[3] When in use, as they were most of the time in every Indian cabin,[4] they were either hung up over the fire, or "set upon an heape of earthe to stay them from falling." "Wood was then put under and kyndled," great care being taken that the "fyre burne equallye Rounde abowt. They or their women fill the vessel with water, and then putt they in fruite, flesh and fish and lett all boyle together lika a galliemaufrye, which the Spaniards call olla podrida. Then they putte yt out into disches, and sett before the companye, and then they make good cheere together." We were told that they were moderate in their eating, whereby they avoid sickness, and the old chronicler, in a fit of righteous indignation at what may have been the excesses of his English neighbors, adds "I would to God we would follow their example. For we should be free from many kinds of diseases which we fall into by sumptious and unseasonable banquets, continually devising new sauces, and provocations of gluttony to satisfy our unsatiable appetite."[5]

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[1] New England's Prospect, p. 75. Sagard, p. 98: Paris, 1865. Marquette, p. 48. In Dumont, Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, I., p. 154, and II., pp. 271, 272, Paris, 1753, is a good account of the Indians' manner of making Pottery. See also Bradbury, *Travels*, p. 158. Carver, Travels, p. 233.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69. Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 460: New York, 1873.

[3] Champlain, I., p. 113: Paris, 1830. Adair, p. 424: London, 1775. Timberlake, *Memoirs*, pp. 62 and 77: London, 1765. Loskiel, p. 54: London, 1794. De Bry, plates, VIII., XI., XX., &c.: Frankfort, 1591.

[4] La première action qu'ils font le matin à leur reveil, c'est d'estendre le bras à leur écuelle d'ecorce garnie de chair, et puis de manger. Au commencement . . . je voulus introduire la coustume de prier Dieu devant que de manger . . . mais l'Apostat me dit: Si vous voulez prier autant de fois qu'on mangera dans la Cabane, préparez vous à dire vostre *Benedicite* plus de vingt fois avant le nuit": Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 32, Quebec, 1858.

[5] Hariot's *Narrative*, plate XV. and text: London, 1893.

Another kind of kettle, made of wood,[1] was in use among the "wandering tribes" as it was not so easily broken, and in Texas they managed to cook their broth in a calabash. This was such a novel process that Cabeça de Vaca, by way of showing "how curious and diversified are the contrivances of the human family," tells us that "not having discovered the use of pipkins to boil what they would eat, they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash, until the water in it boils from the fervor of the stones. Then whatever is to be cooked is put in, and until it is done they continue taking out cooled stones and throwing in hot ones." Thus, we are told "they boil their food."[2]

To remove the husks and fit their corn, etc., for the kettle, they boiled it in lye or pounded it in mortars made of wood or stone, which were either portable or stationary. Although these mortars were in universal use among our Indians, they were not indispensable, for upon occasion, as when travelling or hunting, the Indian simply picked up two flat stones[3] and with them crushed his corn or any other kind of food that he happened to have, and that had to be submitted to this process. In making their wooden mortars, the Indians "cautiously burned a large log to a proper level and length, placed fire a-top, and with mortar around it, in order to give the utensil a proper form, and when the fire was extinguished, or occasion required, they chopped the inside with their stone instruments, patiently continuing the slow process, till they finished the machine to the intended purpose."[4] Stone mortars are said to have

[1] Charlevoix, VI., p. 47: Paris, 1744. Lafitau, III., p. 79: Paris, 1724.

[2] Translation of Buckingham Smith, p. 161: New York, 1871. Compare Relation, 1633, p. 4: Quebec, 1858.

[3] Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 45: Paris, 1865. See Charlevoix, VI., p. 45 for use of lye.

[4] Adair, p. 416: London, 1775. *Cf.* Du Pratz, II., p. 177: Paris, 1724. Lafitau, III., p. 79: Paris, 1724.

been in use among the Osage Indians and seem to have been public property, each family using them in rotation.[1] They were simply stones selected at random, but of suitable size, in which the cavity was made or worn by use. To this same category must be added those stationary mortars that were worn in the face of some outcropping ledge of rock, such as were more or less common at or near the village sites of the Indians that lived south of the Ohio.[2] The pestles used in these deeper mortars were of stone or wood, some of them rudely ornamented with carvings. West of the Alleghanys, a short pestle or pounder with a flat rounded base, known locally and to collectors as a muller, is frequently found.[3] Having pounded his corn to the requisite degree of fineness, it was sifted through sieves or sifters of cane splinters,[4] or through baskets made for the purpose, of rushes or splits,[5] and was then ready to be boiled into hominy or baked into bread.

Coming now to their table furniture, we find that they had a variety of spoons, cups, plates and dishes of different materials, though they were somewhat unequally distributed among the different tribes. Thus, for example, among the Hurons of early times there was such a scarcity of plates and cups, or for some other equally good reason, that upon the occasion of a festival, each guest was expected to bring with him his bowl of bark with a spoon inside, both of which are said to have been very handsome.[6] The Indians of

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[1] Hunter, Memoirs, pp. 201, 261, 290: London, 1824. League of the Iroquois, p. 358.

[2] Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, pp. 309-314: New York, 1873.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 314: New York, 1873. *Cf.* Cartier in Hakluyt, II., p. 120, Edinburg, 1889, for "beetles of wood."

[4] Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 179: Paris, 1724. Dumont, *Memoires sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 154: Paris, 1753. Lafitau, III., p. 79. Adair, p. 407: London, 1775.

[5] Gookin, *Indians of New England*, in 1st Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 150.

[6] Sagard, p. 100: Paris, 1865. Champlain, I., 262: Paris, 1830. Lescarbot, p. 758: Paris, 1866. Relation, 1634, pp. 38, 39: Quebec, 1858.

New England were better off; and except that articles of earthenware were relatively rare, owing to "the scarcity of clay,"[1] they had an abundance of baskets, bottles, dishes, spoons, etc., of wood or bark; and what is more to the point they had made great progress in ornamenting them. This is especially noticeable in their "delicate sweet dishes" of birch bark, "from the size of a dram cup to one holding a pottle, furnished on the outside with flourisht works, and on the brim with glistening quills taken from the Porcupine and dyed some black and others red, the white being natural." So, too, the baskets in which they put their provisions, made of rushes, bents, maize-husks, bark of trees, or a kind of wild hemp, etc., are said to have been "very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beasts, fishes and flowers upon them in colors." They were of different sizes and would hold from a pint up to four bushels or more. Their dishes, spoons and ladles "were very neat and of a sort of wood not subject to split," and the mats upon which they slept and sat were of several sorts and "were dyed some black, blue, red and yellow."[2]

Creditable as is this display, it was surpassed both in variety and number by the different articles that made up the table furniture of the southern tribes. Especially is this the case with their earthenware, which, even as early as in the time of De Soto, is said to have differed but little from that of Estremoz and Montemor, towns in Spain.[3] Du Pratz, who wrote some two hundred years later, tells us that this pottery was made by the women, who not only form the vessel, but dig up and mix the clay. In this they were quite expert, for they are said to make "pots of an extraordinary size, pitchers with a small opening, bowls,

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[1] Gookin, p. 151 in 1st Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I. *Per contra*, Winslow, in Purchas, Pilgrims IV., p. 1861, says: "they have Earthen pots of all sizes," and Brereton tells us they had "drinking cups" of copper.

[2] For this account, the reader is referred to Gookin, p. 151, and to Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in 3d Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III.,p. 307.

[3] Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, part II., p. 201.

quart bottles with long necks, pots or pitchers for their bear oil which will hold forty pints, and lastly plates and dishes in the French fashion." He had some made in imitation of his imported ware, which was "of a very pretty red."[1] Adair, whose account of these tribes, aside from his notion as to their identity with the lost tribes of Israel, is one of the best that we have, confirms this statement, and adds certain particulars as to other articles that are of interest. They make, so he tells us, "earthen pots to contain from two to ten gallons, large pitchers to carry water, bowls, dishes, platters, basons and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms as would be tedious to describe and impossible to name. Their method of glazing them is, they place them over a large fire of smoky pitch-pine, which makes them smooth, black and firm."[2] In addition to this liberal supply of table ware, they had cups and spoons of shells and gourds; and their wooden dishes, and spoons and ladles of wood and buffalo horn, "show something of a newer invention and date, being of a nicer workmanship, for the sculpture of the last is plain, and represents things that are within reach of their own ideas."[3] Their sifters and strainers were of canes and of different sizes,[4] and "their carpets of a wild hemp were painted on each side with such figures, of various colors, as their fruitful imaginations desired; particularly the images of those birds and beasts they are acquainted with; and likewise of themselves acting in their social and martial stations." These carpets, so it is said, "show that due proportion and so much wild variety in the design that would really strike a curious eye with pleasure and admiration."[5]

Of their methods of preparing their food our accounts are full and explicit, and when we reflect that their only

[1] *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II. p. 178: Paris, 1758.
[2] North American Indians, pp. 421, 424: London, 1775.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 421. London, 1775.
[4] See note 4, p. 175, and Adair, p. 416.
[5] Adair, p. 422: London, 1775.

way of cooking was at an open fire, and that their only utensil was the kettle, we can understand the old chronicler's surprise at the variety of dishes they were able to concoct out of "their wild flesh, corn, beans, peas, potatoes, pompions, dried fruits, herbs and roots."[1] On this point, too, Dumont must have been an authority, for speaking of corn, he tells us that "there were forty-two different ways of preparing it each one of which had its proper name."[2] He does not, it is true, describe them, but other writers are not so reticent, and upon comparing their accounts and receipts it is possible to get a good idea of some of their favorite dishes. Beginning with corn—the foundation of all their cooking—we find that when in the roasting ear stage its use was prefaced by a solemn feast which seems to have been in the nature of a thank-offering of first fruits. Among the Southern tribes this festival was known as the Boosketau,[3] and it was attended with certain rites and privileges, among which was a general amnesty for all crimes except murder. There was no prescribed time for its beginning or duration, but it usually lasted several days, and there is reason to believe that formerly it was not until it was over that each family was privileged to make what use it pleased of its own field of corn.[4] When, however, the feast was over, and the old hearths had been swept out and the new fire kindled, the restriction was removed, and the Indian woman as head of the cabin, cook and mistress of the household generally, was given an opportunity for the display of those housewifely qualities upon which her position in the family and village chiefly depended. That she showed herself equal

[1] Adair, p. 409: London, 1775.

[2] *Memoires sur La Louisiane*, I., pp. 33, 34: Paris, 1753. *Cf.* Loskiel, p. 67: London, 1794.

[3] *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, in Smithsonian Report for 1891, pp. 542 and 544. Du Pratz, II., Chap. XXV. Dumont, *Memoires*, I., Chap. XXV.: Paris, 1753.

[4] Hunter, Memoirs, p. 273: London, 1824. Joutel, in *Hist. Coll. Louisiana*, p. 151. Adair, p. 101: London, 1775.

to the task imposed upon her, is the evidence of almost all the old chroniclers who enjoyed her hospitality, and it will not be gainsaid by those of us who have a practical acquaintance with the succulent dishes we owe to her skill and ingenuity. Among them, there was one that was in such general demand that it may be said to be typical. To the French it was known as *sagamité*,[1] whilst among the English it was variously termed samp[2] or hominy.[3] It was made of ripe corn, either whole, or pounded in a mortar or between two stones, and boiled with any kind of meat or fish, dried or fresh, that they happened to have. If, as often occurred, they had no meat, and did have an oil or a fat of any kind, they used it to give body and flavor to their *sagamité*.[4] In fact, fat is said to have been their "sugar" or sauce, and among the northern tribes it was eaten by itself "as we do an apple."[5] When they were in season they mixed pumpkins, fresh or dried, chopped up fine, and beans, peas and other vegetables with the corn.[6] If, perchance, their corn gave out altogether, they substituted for it pounded chestnuts, acorns, wild rice or, in fact, anything that would give substance and character to the dish.[7] Sometimes in the spring and early summer, they used green corn and beans instead of dried; and under the name of succotash this is a favorite summer delicacy with us. We, however, cook the vegetables by themselves, though for-

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[1] Relation, 1633, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. Joutel, *Journal*, p. 161. Charlevoix, VI., p. 46.

[2] Williams's Key, in *Narragansett Club* Publications, I., p. 41.

[3] Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 243: Amsterdam, 1707. Adair, p. 407: London, 1775. Father Rasle, p. 59 in Kip's Jesuit Missions.

[4] Lafitau, III., pp. 79, 81, 85: Paris, 1724. Sagard, p. 97. Gookin, p. 150, first series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I.

[5] Relation, 1633, p. 4, and 1634, p. 36: Quebec, 1858. Romans, p. 68: New York, 1776. Lafitau, III., p. 83: Paris, 1724. Du Pratz, II., p. 88: Paris, 1758.

[6] Capt. Smith, p. 127: Richmond, 1819. Bartram, *Observations*, p. 59: London, 1751. Gookin, p. 150, in first series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I. Father Gravier, in Shea's Early Voyages, p. 126. Romans, p. 84: New York, 1776. Heckwelder, p. 194: Philadelphia, 1876.

[7] See note 4, p. 173. *Cf.* Capt. Smith, p. 121. Gookin, p. 150. Williams's Key, p. 90, in Rhode Isld. Hist. Coll., Vol. I.

merly this was not the case, for, according to an old writer,[1] when made with bear oil, "the fat moistens the pulse and renders it beyond comparison delicious." Another way of preparing the green corn was to slice off the grains from the cob on which they grew, and knead them into a paste. This, we are told, can be done "without the addition of any liquid, by the milk that flows from them; and when it is effected, they parcel it out into cakes, and inclosing them in leaves place them in hot embers where they are soon baked,"[2] or else they boil them. In a burst of justifiable enthusiasm the writer from whom much of the above account is taken adds: "and better flavored bread I never ate in any country," a sentiment which those of us who know the dish will cheerfully endorse. Their Leindohy or *bled-puant*,[3] although in great request, was not, for obvious reasons, held in high esteem by the whites. To prepare it, they took the corn before it was fully ripe, and buried the ear in stagnant water, for two or three months, and until it was rotten. Then they took it out and boiled it with meat or fish, or ate it roasted in the ashes. There is nothing, we are told, that smells worse than this corn, though they suck it as if it was sugar-cane. So strong and offensive was the odor, that the old writer confessed that he not only could not eat it, but did not like to touch it as the infection clung to his hands for several days. Nocake or rockahominy[4] was another favorite preparation, especially when away from home travelling or hunting. To make it the ripened corn was first parched and then pounded into meal. In this

[1] Carver, *Travels*, p. 263: London, 1778. *Cf.* Williams's Key as to succotash.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 114: London, 1778. *Cf.* Adair, p. 407. Bartram, *Observations*, p. 59: London, 1751. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 127: Richmond, 1819. Romans, p. 92: New York, 1776.

[3] Sagard, p. 97. Lafitau, III., p. 85: Paris, 1724.

[4] Williams's Key, in *Narragansett Club* publications, I., p. 40. New England's Prospect, p. 76. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 250: Amsterdam, 1707. Bartram, *Observations*, p. 71. This was a very common way of preparing the corn, though the accounts vary somewhat as to the condition of the corn, when used, *i. e.*, whether green or ripe. *Cf.* Du Pratz, II., p. 5: Paris, 1758. Romans, pp. 67, 96: New York, 1776. Heckwelder, p. 195. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 142.

shape it would keep indefinitely, and it was so nutritious that two or three spoonfuls of it mixed with water would furnish a man with food for a day. When they had maple sugar, they mixed it with the meal, as it was considered a great improvement. They also took the corn before it was fully ripe, and slicing the grains from the cob, they dried them in the sun or on a frame over the fire. This was the *blé-grolée* of the French, and to use it, they cooked it in the same way as their *sagamité*.[1]

In addition to these dishes, which are in the nature of broths, stews or porridges, the Indians made several kinds of bread of their corn,[2] or failing this, of chestnuts, beans, acorns, sweet potatoes or any other suitable material that they could get.[3] This involved an entirely different process of cooking, and the fact that some of this bread, as for instance the ash-cake, johnny-cake and the pone, still finds favor with us, is proof of the success that attended their efforts. In preparing these dishes, the ripe corn was pounded to a fine meal, which was duly sifted, and having been made into dough with water or, as Adair[4] suggests, with bear oil, it was covered with leaves and baked in the ashes, or on broad stones or "broad earthen bottoms" placed over a fire. In baking loaves, and the same account will apply to pones, "they make a strong fire and when it is burned down to coals, they carefully rake them off to each side, and sweep away the remaining ashes; then they put their well kneaded bread loaf, first steeped in hot water, over the hearth and an

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[1] Charlevoix, VI., p. 46: Paris, 1744. Lafitau, III., p. 84: Paris, 1724.

[2] Lafitau, III., pp. 85, 86: Paris, 1724. Capt. Smith, p. 127. Bartram, *Florida*, p. 38: Dublin, 1793. Joutel, *Journal*, pp. 160, 176, &c. Champlain, I., p. 113: Paris, 1830. De Vries, pp. 137, 156. Romans, *East and West Florida*, pp. 92, 94. From this same author, p. 84, we learn that they cultivated for bread all varieties of the Zea Mays, likewise two varieties of guinea corn. *Cf.* Heckwelder, p. 195: Philadelphia, 1876. Sagard, p. 94.

[3] Romans, p. 84: New York, 1776. Father Rasle, p. 59. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 121. Lawson, Carolina, p. 25: London, 1718.

[4] Adair, p. 407: London, 1775.

earthen bason above it, with the embers and coals a-top." This method of baking is as clean and efficacious as if done in any oven, and the loaf cooked in this manner is said to be firm and very white. It is, moreover, so we are told, "very wholesome and well tasted to any except the vitiated palate of an epicure,"[1] and was served with "bear's fat purified into a perfect chrystalline oil, and honey with which the country abounds.[2] Sometimes the dough is mixed with fruit, fresh or dried as the case may be, and this makes a sort of cake of which they are fond."[3]

Of their drinks not much can be said, for the reason that, generally speaking, they had nothing but water, and, curiously enough, they preferred it warm and stagnant.[4] Occasionally, as we have seen, they made a milk of hickory nuts, and they diluted and drank the broth in which their hominy was boiled.[5] They, also, drank the bouillon in which their meat, or the crushed bones of such animals as they ate, were cooked.[6] The sap of the sugar maple, according to La Hontan,[7] was also drunk, and it was not unusual for them when cooking "a fat bear or three or four beavers" to skim off the grease that rose to the top of the kettle, and drink it as if it were the sweetest "parochimel,"[8] whatever that may have been. That the Indians of Virginia and elsewhere flavored their drinking water with "ginger, saxifras and other wholesome herbs,"

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[1] Adair, p. 408: London, 1775.

[2] Romans, p. 92: New York, 1776. On p. 177, he tells us that bees are not natives of this country.

[3] Heckwelder, p. 195. Bradbury, *Travels*, p. 37: Liverpool, 1817. Lafitau, III., p. 86: Paris, 1724. Williams, Key, p. 121. Sagard, p. 94, and tome II., p. 230: Paris, 1865. Lawson, Carolina, p. 208. Charlevoix, VI., p. 48.

[4] Beverly, Virginie, p. 248: Amsterdam, 1707.

[5] Adair, p. 416: London, 1775. Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 40: Quebec, 1858. Lafitau, III., p. 114: Paris, 1724.

[6] Jesuit Relation, 1634, pp. 36 and 40. La Hontan, II., p. 99: A la Haye, 1703. Capt. Smith, p. 127, Richmond, 1819. Loskiel, p. 74.

[7] Tome II., p. 59: A la Haye, 1703. Hunter, p. 261. Lafitau, III., p. 143: Paris, 1724.

[8] Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 37: Quebec, 1858.

including honey and dried fruits,[1] is probable enough; but that "they drank wine whilst the grape lasteth,"[2] we doubt, though Gookin tells us that in Massachusetts they "planted orchards of apples and made cider; which some of the worst of them are too prone to abuse into drunkenness."[3] Evidently, with the culture of the apple, they had also learned from the whites how to manufacture and drink hard cider.

Thus far our investigations have been almost entirely confined to the produce of their fields, and, satisfactory as this seems to have been, it is confessedly but a part of the picture. To complete it, the canvas must be shifted, and then we shall see them in the first or lowest stage of development, depending upon the chase for their supply of animal food. And yet, even in hunting and fishing, they had made considerable advance, for although, as we have seen, no one could acquire an absolute title to a foot of land, yet the idea of personal property had been so far developed that, as was the case with the fields and corn patches, each person could obtain a well defined tract or game preserve, "two, three or four miles in extent,"[4] within which he alone could hunt and fish. They had also learned that, whilst it was possible by their individual efforts to add materially to their stores of animal food, yet, for the chief supply, they must trust to the regular hunting and fishing excursions of the entire village, and to the united exertions of their neighbors.[5] In other

[1] Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 84: Richmond, 1819. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 261: London, 1824. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 17. Loskiel, p. 74: London, 1794.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 84: Richmond, 1819.

[3] Gookin, in 1st Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 151.

[4] Williams's Key, p. 189. Lafitau, III., p. 39: Paris, 1724. The Hurons agree among themselves "to allot each family a certain compass of ground, so that when they arrive at the place they divide themselves into tribes. Each hunter fixes his house in the centre of that ground which is his district": La Hontan (English Ed.), Vol. II., p. 59, London, 1703. *Cf.* Minnesota Hist. Coll., Vol. V., p. 252. La Potherie, I., p. 290, and III., p. 33.

[5] Lescarbot, III., p. 776: Paris, 1866. Josselyn's *Two Voyages*, 3d Series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., p. 296. Lawson, Carolina, p. 206: London,

words, the surround and the game drive[1] had virtually taken the place of the still-hunt and the dead-fall, and the seine, the weir and the dam had,[2] to a great extent, superseded the hook, the dart and the hand-net.

To describe even a tithe of their different methods of hunting and fishing with the attendant ceremonies, would lead us beyond our prescribed limits, and we content ourselves with calling attention to the prodigious quantity of game that was sometimes taken in the course of these expeditions. Captain Smith,[3] for instance, tells us that "they kill 6, 8, 10, or 15 deer at a hunting." According to Cabeça de Vaca[4] a few Indians in Texas sometimes kill from two to three hundred deer, and on one occasion in Wisconsin the Pottawotomies "having declared war against the bears," killed in a short time upwards of five hundred of them.[5] South Carolina, we are told, *circa* 1750, exported 25 @ 30,000£ worth of deer skins per annum;[6] and as late as 1819-1820 the Sacs and Foxes, who then lived in Northwestern Illinois and Northeastern Missouri, brought in, among other things, as the result of

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1718. Laudonnière, p. 12: Paris, 1853. Cabeça de Vaca, pp. 75, 77. Loskiel, p. 78. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 133: Richmond, 1819. Father Marest in Kip's Missions, p. 209.

[1] Du Pratz, II., pp. 71 and 87 *et seq.*; III., p. 210; and I., p. 312. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 207: London, 1718. La Hontan, I., Chaps. X. and XI.: A la Haye, 1703. Charlevoix, V., pp. 188, 189, 192: Paris, 1744. Loskiel, pp. 79, *et seq.*: London, 1794. Perrot, p. 54: Paris, 1864. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 133. Williams's Key, p. 141, in Vol. I. Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Publications. Champlain, I., p. 334: Paris, 1830. New England's Prospect, p. 99.

[2] Hariot's Narrative, plate XIII., and text: London, 1893. Laudonnière, p. 18. De Vries, p. 162. Loskiel, p. 95. Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, part II., p. 172. Relation, 1634, p. 44. Lescarbot, III., p. 794. Adair, p. 403. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 212: Amsterdam, 1707. Cabeça de Vaca, p. 75. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 209: London, 1718. Sagard, Chap. XIX.: Paris, 1865. Bureau of Ethnology, XII., p. 549.

[3] Capt. Smith, Virginia, p. 133: Richmond, 1819.

[4] Buckingham Smith's Translation, p. 109.

[5] Father Allouez, in Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 71: New York, 1852.

[6] Douglas's *Summary*, p. 176: London, 1760.

their winter hunt, 650 bear and 28,680 deer skins.[1] These figures will give some idea of the quantities of game that must have existed in early times, and they will enable us to understand how it was possible for the Indians to serve up, at one village feast, twenty deer and four bears, and at another, a hundred and seventy fish, "a hundred and twenty of which were as large as salmon."[2]

Successful as these hunts and fisheries are believed to have generally been, they were carried on at set times and had reference to the game or fishes that were then in season. Consequently they did not include the hundreds of other birds, beasts and fishes that were not hunted at stated times, but were made to contribute to the Indian's larder. Of these it is unnecessary to speak at length, and the subject may be dismissed with the simple remark that there seems to have been nothing in the way of fish, flesh or fowl that some Indians did not at some time eat. Bear, buffalo and beaver; moose, elk and deer; geese, turkeys and pigeons; fish of all kinds, including whales, seals,[3] eels, oysters and shell fish generally, to say nothing of snakes, crocodiles, locusts, muskrats, etc., etc.,[4] were all eaten with apparent relish and seemingly without preference for any one kind. Even human beings were unhesi-

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[1] Morse's Report, p. 126: New Haven, 1822. In 1626, according to the Relation of that year, p. 5, from 15,000 to 20,000 beaver skins are said to be annually exported; and Charlevoix speaking of the buffalo hunts, "en-deçà et au-dela du Micissipi," tells us, p. 192, "on prétend qu'il ne revient jamais un parti de chasse, qui n'ait ainsi jetté par terre quinze cents ou deux milles Boeufs." *Cf.* Father Rasle, in Kip's Missions, p. 39. Relation, 1633, p. 2. Quebec, 1858. Perrot, p. 126, says that the Saulteurs in one winter, on Ottowa Island, killed 2400 "Elans" or Moose.

[2] Jesuit Relation, 1636, p. 111. *Cf.* Relation, 1643, p. 4: Quebec, 1858.

[3] Williams's Key, Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I., p. 103.

[4] Laudonnière, p. 12: Paris 1853. Father Gravier, in Shea's Early Voyages, p. 132. Dumont, Memoires, I., pp. 105 and 109: Paris, 1753. Charlevoix, V., p. 234. Father Allouez, in Discovery, &c., of the Mississippi, p. 71. Cabeça de Vaca, pp. 79 and 103. Bartram, *Florida*, p. 267: Dublin, 1793. Beverly, *Virginie*, pp. 244, 245: Amsterdam, 1707. Loskiel, p. 66. Heckwelder, p. 196. Lescarbot, III., 724, 725.

tatingly "thrown into the kettle"[1] and devoured, though the flesh of Europeans is said to have been too salty to suit their taste.[2]

Of course when off on these hunting and fishing expeditions, a portion of their daily take was used by the hunters and their assistants. What was left, both of fish and game, was dried, either in the sun or on a hurdle over a fire, and set aside for future use.[3] Among other things, eels and even oysters were so prepared.[4] It was also at these times that they tried out the fat of such bears, buffaloes, seals, pigeons, fishes, etc., as they took, and preserved it in skins, jars, gourds, etc., which were buried. Sometimes, according to Adair, the southern Indians mixed sassafras and wild cinnamon with the bear's oil, and in this shape it is said to be not only "good for the hair but preferable to any oil for any purpose." Smooth Florence, he adds, "is not to be compared in this respect with rough America."[5]

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[1] Narrative of Father Membré, p. 175. Dumont, *Mémoires sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 255. Father Marest, *Journeys*, pp. 219, 221, in Kip's Jesuit Missions. Perrot, pp. 52 and 242: Paris, 1864. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, pp. 295, 310, in third series, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III. Lafitau, IV., p. 6. Heckwelder, p. 199. Relation, 1626, p. 3; 1632, p. 11; 1636, p. 121; 1637, p. 118. With but few exceptions the above references especially those from the Relations relate to the treatment of prisoners, though the same can hardly be said of the following account, which we find in the Relation, 1642, p. 47: "Ils prirent nos petits enfans, les attacherent à une broche, les presenterent au feu et les firent rostir tout vifs devant nos yeux. . . . . Apres qu'il eurent fait mourir ces pauvres petits par le feu, ils les tirerent de la broche où ils estoient liez, les jettent dans leurs chaudieres, les font bouillir et les mangent en notre presence." *Cf.* Wyman, Shell Mounds of Florida, pp. 67 *et seq.*: Salem, 1875. Adair, pp. 135, 199, 387: London, 1775. Sagard, p. 152.

[2] Charlevoix, VI., p. 16: Paris, 1744.

[3] Hariot, *Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia*, plate XIIII., and text: London, 1893. Williams's Key in R. I. Hist. Soc. Publications, I., p. 103. Relation, 1633, p. 2, and 1634, pp. 35 and 41: Quebec, 1858. Laudonnière, p. 12: Paris, 1853. Sagard, I., p. 177, and II., p. 220: Paris, 1865. La Hontan, I. plate, p. 174: A la Haye, 1703.

[4] Dumont, II., p. 274: Paris, 1753. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 209. London, 1718. De Vries, p. 139. Champlain I., p. 165: Paris, 1830.

[5] Adair's *History of the American Indians*, p. 415. *Cf.* Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 207: London, 1718. Dumont, *Mémoires*, I., p. 77.

In regard to their cooking, there is not much to be added to what has already been said. The kettle they had, of course; and it was kept on the fire almost all the time, for although there was but one regular meal cooked in the wigwam each day,[1] yet the Indian was accustomed to eat whenever he felt like it. Moreover, according to their ideas of hospitality, "if a man entered an Indian house, whether a villager, a tribesman, or a stranger, and at any hour of the day" or night, "it was the duty of the women to set food before him,"[2] and this could not have been done unless a supply was always kept on hand, or was in course of preparation. In addition to the boiled dishes of which we have spoken, and the stews which the kettle enabled him to cook, the Indian was in the habit of broiling his meat upon coals, or roasting it on wooden spits, placed before the fire and turned as the cooking progressed, just as we do, today, when camping out.[3] Some of the dishes prepared in this way are spoken of in high terms, roasted turkey with bear oil being an especial favorite, as was also the case with dried venison pounded in a mortar and served with the same sauce.[4]

Other dishes and food preparations they had, as for

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[1] Statements on this point differ, but the weight of evidence inclines this way.

[2] Morgan, Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines, pp. 45, 51, 61: Washington, 1881. ". . . lesquelles y touchent à toutes les heures marquées par leur appetit, soit le jour, soit la nuit. L'appetit est chez eux l'unique horloge sur laquelle sont montées toutes les heures du repas": Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains, III., p. 80: Paris, 1724. Williams's Key in R. I. Hist. Coll., I. p. 36: Providence, 1827. Relation, 1634. p. 32: Quebec, 1858. "Their cookery continues from Morning till Night, . . . not seldom getting up at Midnight, to eat." Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 207. Loskiel, p. 66: London, 1794.

[3] Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 243: Amsterdam, 1707. Adair, p. 415. Heckwelder, p. 196. Carver, Travels, p. 233: London, 1778. New England's Prospect, p. 75.

[4] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 207: London, 1718. Heckwelder, p. 196: Philadelphia, 1876.

instance the dog,[1] the intestines of a deer,[2] etc., which might have been mentioned, just as it would have been interesting to note the Indians' method of saying grace,[3] of marrying their nets,[4] of propitiating the manes of the bear,[5] and other ceremonies and observances belonging to this phase of life, but it is believed to be unnecessary. Enough has been given to enable us to measure the advance of the Indian along this particular line of development; and judging from the quantity and quality of the products of his fields, from the many ways of cooking his food, and from the relatively elaborate character of the table ware used in serving it, we may safely say that he had reached a degree of progress far in advance of what we understand by the term savage. Indeed, in each and every one of these particulars, he had nothing to fear from a comparison with his white neighbor. So, too, in his system of providing for the poor and needy,[6] for certain tribal expenses, and for punishing laziness,[7] he displayed a knowledge of

[1] Champlain, I., p. 377. Lafitau, III., p. 171. Carver's *Travels*, p. 278. Perrot, pp. 15, 38. Father Rasle, in Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 36: New York, 1846. Du Pratz, II., p. 409. Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, *passim*. Marquette, pp. 24 and 48, in Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi. Charlevoix, V., p. 320: Paris, 1744.

[2] Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 245: Amsterdam, 1707.

[3] "The Indian women always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat." Adair, p. 115: London, 1775. *Cf.* Sagard, I., p. 124: Paris, 1865.

[4] Jesuit Relation, 1636, p. 109: Quebec, 1858.

[5] Perrot, pp. 66 *et seq.*: Paris, 1864. Heckwelder, p. 255: Philadelphia, 1876. Charlevoix, V., pp. 169, 443: Paris, 1744. Relation, 1637, p. 52; 1672, p. 38: Quebec, 1858. Bartram (John), *Observations*, p. 25: London, 1751.

[6] See note 2, p. 166. *Cf.* as to widows and orphans, Williams's Key, p. 452. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 178 and 179: London, 1718; Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 29. Quebec, 1858. Charlevoix, VI., p. 13. See, also, Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 68, London, 1765, and Lawson, p. 178, for an account of what may be termed a charity festival. "Hunger and destitution could not exist at one end of an Indian village or in one section of an encampment while plenty prevailed elsewhere in the same village or encampment." Morgan House-life, p. 45: Washington, 1881. Lescarbot, III., p. 727: Paris, 1866.

[7] "The delinquent is assessed more or less, according to his neglect, by proper officers appointed to collect these assessments, which they strictly fulfill; without the least interruption or exemption of any able person." Adair, *History of the North American Indians*, p. 430: London, 1775. ". . . do not

social science far beyond his condition; and he certainly showed commendable foresight in his efforts to guard against the proverbial rainy day, by curing and preserving his surplus stores of game, fish and other kinds of food. That these supplies sometimes fell short is, of course, well known. The presence of an enemy, or the failure of his crop or of his hunt might, at any time, precipitate a condition of scarcity, such as occasionally occurs in the frontier life of to-day. His ideas, too, of hospitality and good breeding,[1] or it may be a desire for popularity,[2] or possibly some medicinal, social, or religious function[3] may have led to a certain rude magnificence in his way of living that does not comport with our ideas of prudence, though something not unlike it is common enough amongst those who are supposed to act, if not from higher motives, at least from a better knowledge. Moreover, to the credit of the Indian be it said, his prodigality injured no one but himself; and when we consider that his position in the

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allow any one to be idle, but to employ themselves in some work or other." Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 179: London, 1718. *Cf.* Hawkins, *Sketch of Creek Country*, p. 35: Savannah, 1848.

[1] Morgan, in Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines, Washington, 1881, treats this subject very fully, and the reader is referred to that publication. "It is a strange truth that a man shall generally find more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these Barbarians, than amongst thousands that call themselves christians": Williams's Key, in Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I., p. 36. *Cf.* Perrot, Chap. XII.: Leipzig et Paris, 1864. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 77: Paris, 1865. Relation, 1634, p. 64. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, pp. 101, 148: Philadelphia, 1876. Charlevoix, VI., pp. 11 and 13: Paris, 1744.

[2] "Ils font ces festins quelque fois purement par magnificence et pour se faire renommer." Relation, 1636, p. 112, and 1634, p. 38: Quebec, 1858.

[3] Of their extravagance at feasts, funerals, &c., see Williams's Key, pp. 112 and 162, in Vol. I., R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, III., p. 848: Paris, 1866. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 102: Paris, 1865. La Hontan, *Travels*, II., p. 127: A la Haye, 1703. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, pp. 270 *et seq.*: Philadelphia, 1876. Charlevoix, VI., pp. 107, 111, 112: Paris, 1744. Relation, 1636, pp. 11 and 112; 1637, p. 108. Perrot, Chap. VIII.: Leipzig et Paris, 1865. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, pp. 113, 122, 162, &c., &c.: Paris, 1724. Laudonnière, *Histoire de la Floride*, p. 11: Paris, 1853. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 194, and Chap. XXII.: Paris, 1865.

village and tribe depended, in good part, upon this very prodigality [1]—that according to his ideas, riches consisted not in what he had, but in what he gave away,—it will be seen that even in what is sometimes termed a brutal and wasteful indulgence, he may have been actuated by motives that are recognized as worthy and proper by civilized gentlemen.

That he was a hunter, and as such occupied a place in the first or lowest stage of development as we have marked it out, is most true. It is, also, true that he was something more, for he was, in a small way, a farmer just like his white neighbor. Indeed, so far as the comforts and conveniences that belong to this condition of life are to be regarded as a measure of progress, he did not materially differ from the advance guard of the band of pioneers that crossed the Alleghanys and won the west to civilization.

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[1] "L' une de leurs grandes injures parmy eux, c'est à dire; Cet homme aime tout, il est avare." Relation, 1634, p. 29: Quebec, 1858. *Cf.* Adair, *History N. American Indians*, p. 17: London, 1775. Loskiel, pp. 132 and 140: London, 1794. According to Long, Expedition, II., p. 189, an Oto who has given away property to the amount of one hundred dollars can have the blue mark tattooed on the forehead of a female relative. The same is true of the Omaha, among whom, so I am told by Miss Fletcher, it is regarded as a mark of honor.

PALENQUE.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

VISITING Palenque, as I did in 1895, fresh from my work among the ruined groups of Yucatan, the impressions created and comparisons made may be of some interest to the Society.

I first noted how intensely tropical was the vegetation, great barillas, mahogany and cedars, six, eight, and even ten yards in circumference, towering sky-ward until their branches seemed like interlacing threadwork. In this tropical vigor of growth, the vegetation in and around Palenque far excels that around Chichen Itza, Uxmal or Labná.

Perpetual humidity surrounds Palenque. Situated as it is near the high hills of the Sierra Madre, the condensed cloud vapor of the region passes close by it or is deposited around it. Water drips and trickles from its walls, forming, from the excess of lime in its material, myriad little stalactites and, in places, thin sheets of calcareous incrustation, as if the edifices were limestone caverns instead of structures built by human hands. I searched in vain for a long time to find traces of wooden lintels in these structures; the lime deposits had so covered the spaces left vacant by the absence of the lintels that the closest investigation yielded no result, until at last, in a peculiarly protected location, I found clear traces of a wooden lintel, the lintel itself having fallen out or decayed, leaving in the once plastic mortar clear impressions of the knots, even the grain of the wood. This same percolation of lime particles in solution, while obliterating certain interesting

features, is destined to be an important factor in the preservation of the ruined structures themselves. It is fast binding the material, stones, mortar, stucco, and all, into one solid mass, that the roots cannot wrench apart or time destroy. It bids fair to make certain portions of the palace as eternal as the stones themselves. The so-called "subterranean" chambers to the right of the inner courtyard, looking out of the inner corridor, are simply combined into one coherent mass of limestone, a knitting together of all parts without greatly disturbing the original outlines. These lime incrustations proceed so fast that I noted a plant whose life at best cannot exceed one season, yet several of its leaves were whitened by a thin pellicule of lime incrustation formed from the dripping from above. The "subterranean" chambers were not originally subterranean chambers at all, as a very few minutes' observation served to show me; they were in reality the lowest chambers of one wing of the palace, now buried by the *débris* of the upper stories and also by that of the tall tower adjoining them.

I noted that the walls of these chambers were once more or less covered with mural paintings, a narrow band six inches in width extending around the upper portion of the vertical wall, just under the jutting portion that marks the commencement of the arch. Upon this band was painted a series of hieroglyphics in black pigment outlined in a clear, bold manner by the hand of a master. Noting that a piece of the first layer of stucco was about to fall, I detached it and found beneath it, as fresh as if drawn and painted yesterday, a bit of painting, arabesque in design, with yellow, red, brown, black and green colors. Doubtless, if the blurred and disfigured outer layer of stucco were removed, the uncovered layer would present some wonderfully fresh and perfect specimens of mural paintings.

I can hardly find words fit to express my admiration of

the sculptured figures held by the tablets that once adorned the various sanctuaries. They are unapproached by anything that I have yet seen in Yucatan, but the sculptors of Palenque had as a material to work upon, a stone far superior to that possessed by those of Yucatan, and to this I attribute a great deal of the superior finish of the Palenque work. The stone used in Palenque was also a limestone like that of Yucatan, but exceedingly fine grained, hard and laminated, and therefore susceptible of being easily worked into large smooth slabs of exceedingly fine texture, resembling to the eye and touch the fine German lithographic stone.

The sculptured bas-reliefs of Chichen Itza have a massiveness and an artistic breadth all their own; but those of Palenque have a certain refined freedom of technique, that combined with the magnificent material, make them incomparable with any similar work yet known in the Americas.

The stucco work and figures at Palenque are in most cases finely executed, but no more so than at Chichen Itza or Uxmal. They are more intricate, and in many examples do indeed recall "the rococo style of Louis XV.," as Charnay aptly states.

The largest stone mass that I encountered at Palenque was twelve feet long by three wide, and two and eight-tenths thick. This was a roughly hewn block used in the construction of the aqueduct below the Palace. I have seen solid stone masses used in the stonework of Uxmal ten feet long by three wide and nearly three thick, consequently it will be seen that there is nothing cyclopean at Palenque. I see no reason, however, to fix the limit of the stone masses or monoliths that could have been produced by the ancient builders of Palenque. Their stone-cutters had the same advantage over those of Yucatan that their brethren, upon the higher artistic plane of sculpture, had over those of their guild in Yucatan. The stone material being laminated, fine grained and homogeneous,

could be scaled to almost any dimensions, length, breadth or thickness; while the Yucatan workmen had to labor generally with a rock material, friable, coarse grained and full of faults. With all his modern appliances, the builder of to-day would find it exceedingly difficult to procure in Yucatan, many blocks of stone nine feet long, without a break or serious blemish.

The structures of Palenque are grand, the Palace complicated and artistic. The Temples of the Sun and Cross, hold or did hold, many gems of the sculptor's work; but, to my mind, the New World has no more magnificent work of the ancient builders, than that gigantic mosaic gem, the House of the Governor, amid the ruins of Uxmal.

Thomas Davis —

VOL. X. NEW SERIES. PART 2.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 23, 1895.

WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
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1896.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING 195

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. *Egbert C. Smyth* 204

SOME EARLY WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. Illustrated. *Egbert C. Smyth* 212

REPORT OF THE TREASURER 248

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN 254

GIVERS AND GIFTS 268

A LIST OF EARLY AMERICAN IMPRINTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. *Nathaniel Paine* . . . 281

THE LITERATURE OF WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND. *Justin Winsor* 351

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW COMMUNITIES AND STATES IN THE NORTHWEST. *Cushman K. Davis* 374

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW. *Charles Francis Adams* 387

ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL TEXT INSCRIBED ON TWO PALENQUE TABLETS. Illustrated. *Philipp J. J. Valentini* 399

ANCIENT TOMBS OF PALENQUE. Illustrated. *Edward H. Thompson* 418

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 23, 1895, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE Society was called to order by President STEPHEN SALISBURY at 10.30 o'clock, A. M.

The following members were present: —[1]

Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Thomas H. Gage, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, William W. Rice, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis, Lucien Carr, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Charles J. Hoadly, Benjamin A. Gould, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, Rockwood Hoar, William De L. Love, Jr., Francis C. Lowell.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council was read by Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

On motion of FRANCIS H. DEWEY, Esq., the several votes reported from the Council as to the acceptance of the legacy of Rev. Dr. ELLIS, naming it the George E. Ellis Fund, and making certain appropriations of the income thereof, were adopted and confirmed.

[1] The names are given in the order of election.

Rev. Dr. SMYTH contributed, in connection with his report, a paper upon the Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards.

President SALISBURY announced the recent deaths of HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL, of Boston; JOHN FLETCHER WILLIAMS, of St. Paul, Minn.; and JAMES JACKSON of Paris, and stated that memoirs of these gentlemen would be printed with the report of the Council.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., Treasurer, presented his report in print,—in reference to which he said:—"Mr. PRESIDENT, this is the first report of the Treasurer made under the new by-law, and is the report of the year from October, 1894, to October, 1895. The income has been reduced somewhat, but a dividend of five and one-half per cent. has been carried to the various funds."

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

On motion of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, the several reports, as together constituting the report of the Council, were accepted, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES and Mr. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, appointed by the Chair to collect ballots for President, reported that thirty-eight ballots had been cast, and all were for STEPHEN SALISBURY.

A Committee, of which Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN was Chairman, was appointed to nominate the other officers. In accordance with their report the following officers were elected:—

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.
Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council; and the following—

Councillors:

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D., of Boston.
Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.
FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, Rhode Island.
Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The Council, through the Secretary, recommended for

election to membership, the names of Hon. Ezra Scollay Stearns, of Concord, N. H., as a resident member, and as a foreign member, Professor Johann Christoph Vollgraff, L.H.D., of Brussels, Belgium. Ballots were distributed, and the above named gentlemen were duly elected.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., stated that Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN had lately prepared a list of books belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, printed previous to 1701, which list comprised about three hundred titles, of which this Society has about one-half. At Dr. GREEN's suggestion, Mr. PAINE had prepared a similar list of the early publications in this Society's library. The Society has about one hundred and seventy titles not mentioned by Dr. GREEN.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR presented to the Society a paper entitled "Literature of New England Witchcraft."

J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., remarked upon the absence of the two Vice-Presidents, which he said was almost unprecedented; he also read letters which had been received from both Senator HOAR and Rev. Dr. HALE.

The Hon. CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, of St. Paul, Minn., read a paper upon the "Construction of New Communities and States in the Northwest."[1]

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[1] In introducing Senator DAVIS, President SALISBURY read the following letter from Senator HOAR: —

Worcester, Mass., *October 3, 1895.*

Dear Mr. SALISBURY:

If you should conclude that the coming to our meeting of Senator DAVIS deserves a little statement by way of compliment and welcome when you introduce him, you may like to have these facts, which perhaps you know already:

His name is Cushman K. Davis. He is of the Dolor Davis New England stock, by the father's side. His mother was a Cushman, descendant of Robert Cushman, whom Edward Winslow speaks of as "the right-hand of Plymouth Colony," who preached what I suppose was the first sermon in New England which is preserved, and was a devoted and faithful agent and friend of Plymouth in its early days. He came over in the *Fortune*, and was, I think, among those who set out in the *Speedwell*, but were obliged to put back. Senator DAVIS was a brave soldier in the war, has been Governor of his State, and is now serving his second term in the Senate. When the socialistic discontent seemed to be dangerous, at the time of the Chicago riots, and a good many persons were alarmed and timid, he uttered a brave sentence asserting the supremacy of the law, which electrified the country, and which will be doubtless remembered by most persons who will hear him. Mr. DAVIS was made Doctor of Laws by the Michigan University in 1886.

I am faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

The Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, of Milton, followed with remarks approving the leading points of Mr. DAVIS's paper, and emphasizing what it had stated concerning the excellent quality of the Scandinavian population of Minnesota. He had supposed that the town system had survived in that State to a greater extent than appears from Mr. DAVIS's paper, being led to that conclusion by Mr. BRYCE, who represents that the New Englanders, who were the most intelligent and energetic among the settlers, had succeeded in establishing it, though in a modified form, in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin as well as in Minnesota.[1] He was happy to learn that the Scandinavians had not attempted to force foreign customs and ideas upon us, unlike the Lutherans from Germany, who had in some Western States undertaken to give the German language predominance in the public schools. What Mr. DAVIS has said about the Indians still living in his State gives a more hopeful impression concerning that race, when surrounded by civilized people, than we get from the accounts of Indian communities in New York which still keep up the tribal relation.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., spoke of the Battle of Bunker Hill from a strategic point of view, and was followed in the discussion by Messrs. HAYNES, WINSOR, and CHANNING.

ROCKWOOD HOAR, Esq., spoke as follows:—

"Mr. GEORGE F. HOAR regretted that he could not be present to-day, especially with his guest and friend, Senator DAVIS. He asked me to make these two communications to the Society:

"One of them is the presentation of these two little vases which are before me, which are presented to the Society by Miss Mary Bellows Gardner of New York. They were given to Mr. HOAR by Miss Gardner, an accomplished lady belonging to an old New England race, with the

[1] The American Commonwealth, II., 234 (ed. 1888).

liberty to give them to the American Antiquarian Society if he saw fit. Miss Gardner purchased them some twenty-five years ago from a Museum in Nice, the owner of which was obliged to sell some parts of his collection. These vases are supposed to be very old indeed. [See Note at end of this report.]

"They are now presented to the Society in accordance with Miss Gardner's suggestion.

"Mr. HOAR also acquired a little while ago, a draft, in Chief Justice Hutchinson's handwriting, of the address he made to the Court on the twenty-seventh of August,—the morning after his house had been sacked by the mob and its contents destroyed; and if the Committee on Publication would like to publish the address in our Proceedings, he desires to deposit the manuscript for that purpose with the committee."

Mr. HOAR then read the account of the transaction, contained in Quincy's Reports, and the address made by Chief Justice Hutchinson to the Court. The address is dated August 27, 1765:

Gent^mn As their is but a bare Court, I am under the Necessity of Appearing here, that the Business of the Country may not Suffer. But I beg Leave to make an Apology for Appearing in this dress. . These Cloaths I have on are All the Cloaths I have in the world . . for I have not another shirt to my Back Nay Even one of these Garments I have Borrowed . . . I desire to adore the providence of God & Submit in Whatever befalls me But I am Not Conscious that I deserve this Treatment from the People—for as to what Respects the Stamp Act . . as it is Commonly Call,d—Tho' I think it not Proper to Answer to a Tumultuous People every Question y^t they shall think fit to ask—yet to remove every ill Impression from your minds I do now in the Presence of Almighty God Solemnly Declare—& I would not Lye—Espetially when I take this name for Ten thousand Worlds—I say I do Solemnly declare that I did not Directly or indirectly Either in Publick or in Private Either in America or in England,

Speak or write one word in fav^r of that Act—But on the Contrary all I could against it—Consider Gent^mn how Easiely the outrageous Spirit is kept up, Even by One Person s Spreading only its Suspicious story, and the tendency of those Tumults—not only the guilty may be Sufferers . . Tho' Even they should not be punished in that way—as the Law is Open against them but the Innocent are Equally Exposed—but what affects me more than all my Other Sufferings—is a Number of young Children hanging about me—when I am Destitute of Means for their Relief—Gentlemen what I have now declared is Not Drawn from me thr.° Timidity—as I have Nothing now to Loose But my Life & what is that when the Comforts of it are Gone Gent^mn the Court think it Best considering the Present Situation of our Affairs to Adjourn to Some future Day —& I Accordingly Adjourn the Same to the 15th Octo^r Next—hoping Our Minds may be then Better Disposed for Business than they are at Present———

The gifts were accepted by formal vote, and the communication was referred to the Committee of Publication.

Prof. PHILLIPP J. J. VALENTINI presented through Prof. HAYNES, Part II. of his Synthesis on the two Palenque Tablets, Temple of the Sun Tree.

A paper was presented by Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER of Dorchester, in behalf of Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON of Merida, Yucatan, on the Ancient Ruins of Palenque.

At the close of the meeting the Society dined with President SALISBURY.

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

NOTE.—At the suggestion of Senator HOAR, the vases were sent to our associate, Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES, for examination. Prof. HAYNES made the following reply:—

239 Beacon St., Boston, Dec. 16, 1895.

DEAR SENATOR HOAR:—

I found the vases to be such rare and valuable objects, that I carried them to the Museum of Fine Arts and showed them to

Mr. Edward Robinson, Curator of Classical Antiquities. At my request, he has kindly prepared the accompanying technical description of them. He is by far the most competent person in this country to do this, as he has had a thorough archæological training at the American School at Athens, and has prepared a "Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases in the Museum of Fine Arts," in Boston, where he is permanently employed as "Curator of Classical Antiquities." His book has been most highly complimented by classical archæologists in Europe, and was reviewed by myself in the *Nation*.

I thought it better to have the description made by him (if he were willing,) than to attempt it myself, as the beautiful objects deserve the most careful notice.

I will leave the vases at the Mass. Hist. Soc. rooms, for Mr. Chase, or whomsoever you delegate to obtain them.

Sincerely yours,

HENRY W. HAYNES.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

DESCRIPTION OF TWO GREEK VASES PRESENTED BY THE HON. GEORGE F. HOAR TO THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

According to the statement submitted with these vases, both were purchased by Miss Mary Bellows Gardner, about twenty-five years ago, "from a museum in Nice, the owner of which had got into pecuniary embarrassment and was obliged to sell some parts of his collection to enable him to save the rest." They were given by Miss Gardner to Mr. Hoar, "with the liberty to give them to the American Antiquarian Society, if he thought fit."

Both vases are *lekythoi*, or oil jugs, used at funerals and at funerary anniversary festivals, when they were deposited upon the grave of the deceased. They are of Athenian make, of the black-figured style, and belong to the latter part of the period in which that style was in vogue. From certain technical peculiarities, I am inclined to think their date is about 500 B. C. Both are of the same shape, with a short flaring lip, and neck merging into a sloping shoulder, which is well defined from the body, the latter being plummet-shaped, and quite small at the bottom. The base is rather flat, and divided into two parts. The minor decorations of both vases are the same, consisting, on the shoulder, of rays and a border of palmettes; on the body, a zigzag, dotted at the points, between two pairs of narrow lines, encircling the vase above the principal design. Below the principal design, a meander between two pairs of parallel lines. The lip, handle, lower part of the body, and base are black.

Principal design: On the first, two nude youths riding on horseback, profile to right. Each youth carries two spears in his right hand. Of the two horses, the one in front is walking, the other galloping. The details are incised, and the drawing is both spirited and delicate.

On the other, Hermes, as guardian of the flocks. The god is represented at the left of the picture, walking to right, and driving in front of him four large sheep. He is bearded, and wears a cap with a pointed

top and narrow visor, and also a chlamys, or cloak, in which his right arm is enveloped. His left hand is raised in the direction of the sheep. On his shoulder is an object which is probably a lyre. At the right of the picture is a large mass representing a rock, indicative of a mountain landscape, and in the background are branches. The details are incised and have apparently suffered somewhat from attempts at retouching.

Both vases are of the finest clay, of a rich, orange tone, and the black glaze with which they are painted is of the best quality. The vase with the mounted youths has been broken and repaired at the lips; and the Hermes vase has lost the greater part of its handle, but there are no restorations on either. The height of the former is M. O. 164; of the latter, M. O. 161.

EDWARD ROBINSON,
Curator of Classical Antiquities.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
Boston, December 16, 1895.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council has, in general, to express its great satisfaction at the condition of the Society and the management of its affairs.

At the April meeting of the Society, President SALISBURY announced the bequest by our late associate, the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, of the sum of ten thousand dollars "to constitute a fund, the annual income only of which shall be used for any object of the Society and approved by it, on the recommendation of the Council of said Society."

At a special meeting of the Council, on May 4, 1895, it was

Voted, that the American Antiquarian Society gratefully accept the bequest of ten thousand dollars made to them by their late associate, George E. Ellis, and agree to perform the conditions of said bequest as set forth in his will. And in consideration of the payment of said sum by George S. Hale, Esq., executor of the will of said George E. Ellis, it is further agreed that said legacy shall be refunded to said executor, or so much thereof as may be necessary to satisfy any demands that may hereafter be recovered against the estate of said deceased, and the Society will indemnify said executor against all loss or damage on account of such payment.

At a meeting of the Council, held on the 28th ult., it was

Voted, that the fund bequeathed by Rev. Dr. Ellis be called the "George E. Ellis Fund," if the Society concur.

And also, *Voted*, that the Librarian be directed, on the advice of the Committee on the Library, to prepare and present a list of books of the value of not exceeding one thousand dollars, to be purchased from time to time from the income of the George E. Ellis Fund.

At the stated meeting of the Council, held October 22, it was

Voted, that the Council recommend that the income of the George E. Ellis Fund for the coming year be carried to the Librarian's and General Fund.

Also, *Voted*, that any available income of the George E. Ellis Fund, not exceeding $1000, may be employed by the Council from time to time for the purchase of books.

These several votes are submitted to the Society for approval and confirmation.

Brief memorials of deceased members of the Society, prepared by President SALISBURY, Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER and J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., follow this communication.

Hamilton Andrews Hill, who was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1890, was born in London, near the present site of the General Post-Office, April 14, 1827. He was the eldest child of Hamilton and Anna (Andrews) Hill, and attended school in the city and at Islington.

The father was a London merchant and a benevolent philanthropist, in sympathy with the anti-slavery movement and personally acquainted with some of its leaders. Having met with losses during the panic of 1837, he was disposed to accept an invitation from the newly-founded college at Oberlin to become its secretary and treasurer. Accordingly he sailed for America with his family in 1840, and the following spring he crossed the Alleghanies in sleighs and established his home at the college, which was then in the wilderness. He held his appointment for the long term of twenty-five years.

The son Hamilton pursued his studies here for a few years, and, a part of the time, he was clerk in a bookstore. At the age of seventeen, through the influence of Amasa Walker, he came to Boston and entered the dry goods store of Whitney and Fenno. In 1848, he formed a partnership

with Eben Sears, Jr., as a commission and forwarding house, chiefly in the Canadian trade. The new bonding law had just gone into effect, and Hill and Sears obtained large consignments from an uncle of the former, Alfred Hill, a London ship-broker, who had controlled most of the transportation by the St. Lawrence. The new Boston firm established branch offices at New York and Ogdensburg, and for ten years carried on an extensive and profitable business. They invested in American sailing-ships and steamers on the Lakes and the St. Lawrence.

Mr. Hill was a close student of the commercial problems of the time. He made frequent voyages to Europe, and with facile pen he became the chief agent in securing the first reciprocity treaty with Canada. His arguments also influenced the Directors of the Boston and Worcester Railroad Company to buy the circuit line known as the Grand Junction Railroad.

The opening of the Grand Trunk Railway soon diverted the traffic which Boston had secured, and the firm of Hill and Sears dissolved. In 1861, Mr. Hill was appointed a clerk in the Custom House and remained there four years. From 1867 to 1873 he was the efficient secretary of the Boston Board of Trade. In that capacity he did much to promote the success of the famous excursion of members of the Board and their families to California in 1870. This was the first time that Pullman cars were seen in Boston, and they attracted the attention of thousands. This being the first train to make the complete journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and bearing as it did many persons of distinction, the trip was one continuous ovation, such as has never since been equalled. A daily paper was printed on the train, and music, speeches, receptions and illuminations awaited its arrival at all the principal cities. One of the honored party was Hon. Stephen Salisbury, then the president of this Society.

About this time Mr. Hill was appointed by Mayor Pierce

the chairman of a commission to consider the annexation of adjoining cities and towns to Boston. In 1873, he went to London for two years to represent the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad Company in the sale and settlement of its lands. On his return he resumed the secretaryship of the National Board of Trade, of which he had been one of the organizers in 1868, and this position he held through life. Nothing gave him more pleasure than his connection with this Board. He was a constant attendant at its meetings and closely identified with its work. His services were highly esteemed by its long-time president, the venerable Frederick Fraley of Philadelphia, who speaks in the warmest terms of Mr. Hill's ability and devotion, and says he was full of information about matters relating to commerce, finance, insurance, charities, penology, education, history and antiquities. He claimed for Americans a larger share of the steam trade of the Atlantic, and greatly lamented the decline of our ship-owning interests.

Mr. Hill served four years in the Massachusetts Legislature and was chairman of the Finance Committee. He was also a member of the Board of State Charities, vice-president of the American Statistical Association, treasurer of the American Social Science Association, vice-president and biographer of the Congregational Club, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and a director of the Bostonian Society and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

During his later years Mr. Hill turned his attention largely to biographical and historical subjects. He wrote the life of Abbott Lawrence and several smaller memoirs, and contributed valuable articles to the daily papers, the *Historical and Genealogical Register*, the *Andover Review*, and the *New England Magazine*. His chapter in the Memorial History of Boston on our commerce for the last hundred years is often consulted.

As clerk of the Old South Church he became interested

in the lives of its early members, and in coöperation with Dr. George F. Bigelow, he published in 1883 a complete catalogue of the Church. Out of this grew the History of the Old South, in two volumes, an exhaustive and admirable work, which will always be considered the crowning effort of Mr. Hill's life. No Church was ever better served by its clerk.

He was soon after honored with an election to this Society and to the Massachusetts Historical Society, both of whose proceedings he has enriched by his original contributions. He also received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Pennsylvania, having previously received the honorary Master's degree from Oberlin and Williams.

Mr. Hill died in Boston on the 27th of April, 1895. He was short of stature, strongly built, of a genial temperament, methodical habits and positive convictions. His face and voice indicated the earnest, thoughtful and sincere qualities of the man. He was married at Roxbury, May 4, 1859, to Miriam Phillips, daughter of Samuel H. Walley. She died August 21, 1862. His second marriage occurred May 27, 1869, with Anna Frances, daughter of Charles and Mary Anna (Bachi) Carruth, of Boston. She survives him with a son and a daughter. E. G. P.

John Fletcher Williams was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 25, 1834. He is said to have been of the seventh generation in descent from Welsh ancestors, who came to America about 1644. His parents were natives of Pennsylvania. In his boyhood he attended Woodward College in Cincinnati, and afterward completed what was then styled a scientific course at the Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, in 1852. He for a time applied himself to acquiring the art of engraving, but upon his removal to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1855, he became a newspaper reporter, and for fourteen years was pretty constantly employed on one or another of the newspapers of

that city. Finding special satisfaction in those duties which required research into the early history of the region and the lives of its pioneers, he became a recognized authority in these matters, and in 1867 was chosen secretary and librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, which had at that time few members, a library and collections of little value, narrow means and meagre rooms neither easy of access nor inviting. Mr. Williams's enthusiasm and energy soon changed all this, and gave the Society new life. Within a few months, the number of interested and active members was greatly increased; the collection of books was trebled in number and more than trebled in value; a sufficient income was secured, and commodious and convenient quarters provided.

This advance in the activity and importance of the Society so much increased the work of the secretary and librarian, that in 1869 Mr. Williams gave up his newspaper work and devoted all his time to the interests of the Society. He continued to work with uncommon industry and zeal for twenty-four years, having charge of the Society's library, records and correspondence, editing its publications, adding to its collections, making special researches in local history and biography, and writing papers for its meetings. He wrote and published a "History of St. Paul and Ramsey County," and gathered much material for a history of Minnesota and its people. In recognition of Mr. Williams's attainments and his services to the cause of historical research, he was honored with membership of the historical societies of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Rhode Island, Maine, Buffalo and Montana, and was a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was elected a member of this Society at its semi-annual meeting in 1882. I am not aware that he attended any of its meetings or contributed to its Proceedings; but he was friendly and helpful in other ways.

A prostrating illness in 1892, attributed to excessive

study, compelled Mr. Williams to suspend his usual labors. A residence of a few months in California had no beneficial effect. His mental powers were impaired by progressive softening of the brain, and he died in an asylum at Rochester, Minnesota, on the 29th of April, 1895. J. E. G.

James Jackson, was born at Assaily, in the Department of Doubs in France, on September 9, 1843, of English parents. He was "Membre de la Commission Centrale de la Société de Géographie de Paris," and for twelve years, he filled gratuitously the office of Archiviste-Bibliothécaire. He was a born bibliographer, and during his tenure of office made many improvements in the library of the Society. Through his indefatigable efforts, and at his own expense, he collected a valuable series of photographic views from many parts of the world, numbering about 17,000, which he gave to the Society, besides 2,000 portraits of travellers and geographers. Mr. Jackson filled a brilliant and independent place in society, and was surrounded by many friends and advisers, among whom were some of the most eminent students of his time; and he labored earnestly at his work as a true lover of science and art. The bulletins show a great number of books presented by him. Among them were seventeen volumes of the "Dictionnaire de Larousse." He published in "La Nature" various essays, among them, "Tableau de Diverses Vitesses," in 1883, and he contributed to that journal very many photographs (for he was an admirable amateur photographer) of ships of war then in southern ports of France, and of very interesting natural curiosities.

He may be said to have transformed and augmented the collections of the Société de Géographie in a most useful and comprehensive manner.

Mr. Jackson was the author of a "Liste Provisoire de Bibliographies Géographiques Spéciales," and of "Socotora, Notes Bibliographiques." He was of a warm and

generous heart, ever ready to serve his friends and to exert himself in the cause of science. In his last will, he bequeathed the sum of 100,000 francs to be divided among nine geographical and scientific societies. Mr. Jackson was remarkable for a union of many noble qualities. He was kind, and delighted to render a service, and the affection that he held for his friends was warm and sincere. He was industrious, painstaking and methodical. He received in 1894 the gold medal of the Paris Geographical Society for twelve years' honorary labor; and from the Portuguese government, for assistance afforded in geographical lines, he was awarded a decoration as "Commandeur de l' Ordre du Christ de Portugal"; and he was "Officier d' Instruction Publique de France."

He died in Paris, July 17, 1895, regretted by a very large circle of friends. The Royal Geographical Society of London, of which he was an honorary corresponding member, published an obituary notice of Mr. Jackson, in October, in which they acknowledge their obligations for valuable contributions.

Mr. Jackson was elected a member of our Society in October, 1882. S. S.

For the Council,

EGBERT C. SMYTH.

SOME EARLY WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. A. D. 1714-1726.

BY EGBERT C. SMYTH.

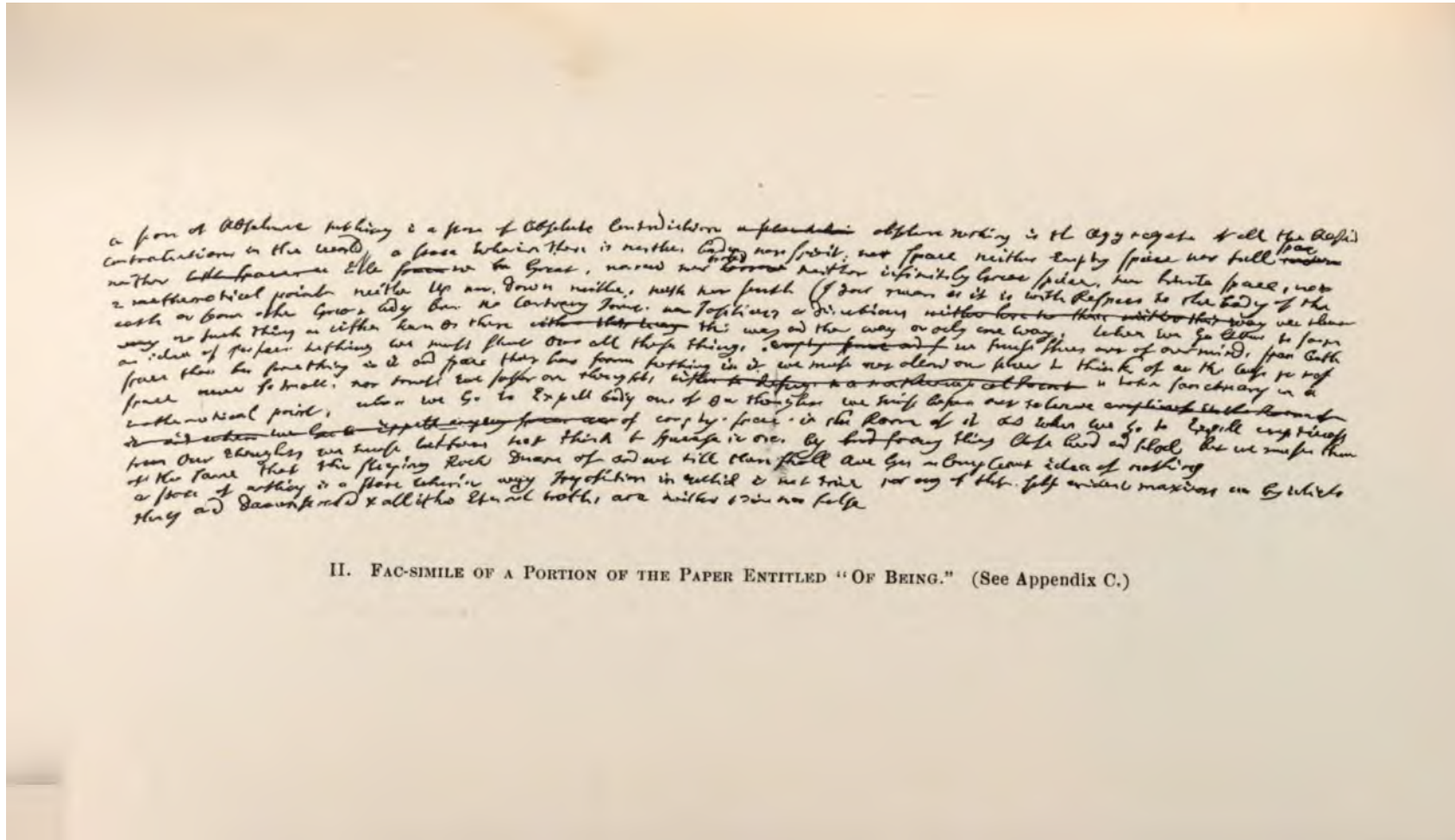
JONATHAN EDWARDS was born October 5, 1703. By "Some Early Writings" I designate those of his productions which treat of topics in philosophy and natural science, and which have been referred to the period between A. D. 1714 and A. D. 1726, inclusive. These writings are: a piece of banter, which I will call "The Soul"; a paper, entitled by its author, "Of insects"; a revision of this in the form of a letter, which may be designated "The Flying Spider," using Edwards's description; a draft of a letter designed to accompany the one just mentioned; a collection of topics, observations, and discussions, denominated by their writer, "The Mind"; a further miscellany, which received from their editor, Dr. Dwight, the title, "Notes on Natural Science"; and a manuscript named by its author, "Of the Rainbow."[1] With the exception of "The Mind" and the cover of the "Notes on Science," I have examined, for the purpose of this report, the originals of all the documents which I have specified, together with other autographs,—letters, sermons,

[1] In 1829, Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, D.D., published, carefully revised, all of these papers but two. See his edition of "The Works of President Edwards, with a Memoir," Vol. I., pp. 20, 21, 23-28, 34-39, 41-53, 664-761. In "The Andover Review," Vol. XIII., Facsimiles I., II., and pp. 1-19, may be found exact reprints, from the autographs, of "The Flying Spider," and "Of insects"; also, a Facsimile of the draft of the introductory and apologetic letter, with a transcript and account, and a Facsimile of a portion of the essay, "Of insects." In the Appendix to this report are published similar copies from the original MSS., of "The Soul," "Of the Rainbow," and "Of Being," and of "Colours" with Facsimiles of the first, and of a portion of the third, of these productions.

I am informed y^t you have advanced a Notion y^t the Soul is material & keeps wth y^e body till y^e re=surrection as I am a profest Lover of Novelty you must alow me to be much entertaind by this discovery wch how ever old in Some parts of y^e world is new in this

I am informed y^t you have advanced an Notion y^t the Soul is materiall & attends y^e body till y^e resurection as I am a profest Lover of novelty you must immagin I am very much entertained by this discovery (wch however in Some parts of ye world is new to us) but but I ffree my Cariosity a little further I w^d know ye manner of ye kingdom before I Swear alegance 1st I w^d know whether this materiall Soul keeps wth in ye Coffin and if so whether it might not be convenient to build a repository for it in order to wch I w^d know w^t Shape it is of whether round triangular or Sore Square or whethe is it a number of Long fine Strings reaching from ye head to ye foot and whether it dui not Live a very discontented Life I am afraid when ye Coffin Gives way ye earth will fall in and Crush it but if it Should Chuse to Live a bove Ground and hover about ye Grave how big it is whether it Covers all ye body or ciuafined to ye head or breast or how if it Covers all ye body w^t i dus when another body is Laid upon ye whether ye 1st first Gives way and if so where is ye place of retreat but Sopose ye Souls are not so big but y^t 10 or a dozen of ym may be about one body whether yy will not Quar cril for ye highest place and as I ~~am~~ insist much upon my honnour and properly I w^d know wher I must Quit my dear head if a Superior Soul Come in ye way but above all I am Concerned to know w^t they do where a bureing Place has bin filled 20 30 or 100 times if ~~there~~ they are a top of one another ye upper most will be so for ~~[illegible]~~ of y^t it Can take no Care of ye body I Stringly Suspect they must march of every time there Comes a new Set I hope ther is Some Good place provided for them but dupt ye undergoing so much hard ship in being deprived of ye body at last will make them ill tempered I Give it with your phisicall Gents to determin whether Some medesinall applications might not be proper in Such Cases and Subscrib your proselite when I can have Solution of these matters

I. Fac-simile of a Very Early Writing by Jonathan Edwards. (See Appendix A. [The Soul].)



II. Fac-simile of a Portion of the Paper Entitled "Of Being." (See Appendix C.)

plans, a large volume written in the author's later years,[1]—the whole supplying specimens of Edwards's handwriting from boyhood to near the close of his life. Besides these manuscripts I have looked over copies of many observations on topics in divinity which were prepared for Dr. Dwight's edition, of the works of Edwards, in ten volumes, but were not published.

The object of this examination was to ascertain what information it might afford respecting the period in their author's life to which these papers belong. And the purpose of the following report is to communicate what I have found. The immediate occasion, I may add, for undertaking such an inquiry, was the doubts as to the early origin of some of these papers which within the past few years have been influentially expressed, particularly by an accomplished French philosopher, Professor Georges Lyon, who, in a history of Idealism in England during the eighteenth century, devotes to Edwards nearly an entire chapter.[2]

It is not strange that such critical misgivings have found utterance and circulation. The documents in question are marvellous productions for a boy and youth. They are known to Dr. Lyon and the public, only as published by Dr. Dwight. In editing them he removed important indications of their age. The boy appears to write in command of a knowledge of literary form not to be expected even in so precocious a reasoner. Dr. Dwight also contents himself with expressing an opinion as to the time of their composition with but little more than an indication of its grounds. Of these, the handwriting is made specially prominent, and the question naturally arises whether the differences in this respect between the autographs can afford a sure criterion.

The results of the present inquiry will be found, I trust,

[1] The cover is strengthened by pasting on the inside the Programme for Commencement at Yale College, 1742.

[2] *L'Idéalisme en Angleterre au XVIIIe Siècle*, Chap. X.

to give a broader basis for judgment, and I cannot but hope that they will stimulate any persons who may possess documents or facts that bear upon the question to contribute to its discussion.

I begin with the paper on the Soul,[1] the earliest known composition. It is written on a piece of foolscap, seven and six-tenths inches wide and four and about one-half inches long. The chirography is clear, firm, neat, though the lines soon begin to run increasingly downward. It has no title. It abounds in the ordinary contractions, y^t, y^e, w^d. It begins twice, and shows a few erasures. There is no division into sentences by capitals, and no punctuation; there is a noticeably large amount of mis-spelling. Dr. Dwight compares this production with a letter, the earliest dated composition of Edwards known to him, and infers that the former was written "at least one year, and probably two, earlier than" the latter. The date of the letter is May 10, 1716. Edwards was then about twelve years and seven months old. The little paper we are considering would thus be referred to his twelfth or eleventh year. The letter has not been published in full. An examination of the original shows that its orthography is far more correct than that of the paper. It is fairly well punctuated, and in good form as to paragraphs, address and subscription. The handwriting indicates not a little practice. I think inspection of the two documents would impress any one with the correctness of Dr. Dwight's judgment as to their relative age. The evidence, however, on which such a conclusion rests disappears largely in the published copies. Both the paper and letter, so far as the latter is printed, are thoroughly corrected as to spelling and punctuation. The superiority of the letter in the latter particular, I should add, though noticeable, is not as decisive as might be thought, since in papers written for his own eye alone or merely to preserve his thoughts, Edwards does not stop to insert many points.

[1] See Appendix A.

The query may arise, whether the letter may not owe its superiority to its being a transcript from a corrected copy. I think not. The manuscript contains too many mistakes of various sorts (none of which, however, as I have intimated, appear in the printed copy) to admit of such a supposition. Do not these errors then, it may be asked, diminish the evidence that it is later than the paper? Not, I should reply, so as to disturb Dr. Dwight's judgment as to their relative age. For the mistakes of the letter are not, noticeably, in spelling. The orthography is fairly good. In the paper, on the contrary, omitting variations which are or may be due to change of standard, or to rapidity of composition or writing, I count twenty-five mis-spelled words in twenty-three lines. The character of these errors is even more significant than their number. The composition is the work of one who is spelling by ear, rather than by the eye.

His father and mother were both persons of superior education and ability. Their home was not only the parsonage, but a school in which the boy was trained by his father with his sisters, four of whom were older than himself. Two letters written in August, 1711, by the father to the mother, when the former, as chaplain, was with troops Connecticut was sending to join an expedition against Canada, contain pertinent references to Jonathan's early education, especially in the matter of writing. "I would have Jonathan keep what he hath learnt in his Grammar, and so I would have the Girls do, and I would have none of them forget their writing." And again, "I desire thee to take care that Jonathan don't lose what he hath learned, but that as he hath got the accidence and about two sides of *propria quae maribus* by heart, so that he keep what he hath got, I would therefore have him say pretty often to the Girls; I would also have the Girls keep what they have learnt of the Grammar, and get by heart as far as Jonathan hath learnt, he can help them to read as

far as he hath learnt; and would have both him and them keep their writing, and therefore write much oftener than they did when I was at home. I have left Paper enough for them which they may use to that end, only I would have you reserve enough for your own use in writing letters, etc."[1] In this domestic circle, occasionally enlarged by the guests which the parsonage must not infrequently have welcomed, Jonathan, like other bright boys, learned words from his elders' lips much faster than from books, and spelled them by the sounds which he caught, doubtless sometimes imperfectly. Thus material is spelled with two e's; allow with one l; resurrection without the double r, which appears in "discoverry"; imagine not only without the final e, but with two m's; little with the last two letters transposed; allegiance with but one l and without an i; four in four-square is written "fore"; does "dus"; assigned without a g; burying "bureing"; suspect with three s's; physical with i for y; medicinal with "es" for ic; proselyte "proselite." It is the work of a boy who gives promise of becoming a correct speller, as his father was, but who is more accustomed to hear good words than to write them; a boy as yet untrained in spelling, even as compared with his own standard at twelve. Dr. Dwight's judgment that the paper was one or two years earlier than the letter, is, I think, a moderate one, especially when the *MSS.* on the Spider are brought into comparison, as they should be.

Professor Lyon suggests that the paper is but an echo; that is, that the boy is writing out a lesson well learned and remembered. This concedes the early date, but takes away its significance. The supposition is gratuitous. There is no occasion for it unless it is assumed that a lad of ten could not reason as ingeniously as does the

[1] Exact transcripts in *Andover Review*, xiii., 5. The letters from which these extracts are taken, give interesting glimpses of the writer's home, and leave a very pleasing impression of his character.

author of this raillery. But when we recall the Spider papers, written not later than the age of twelve, and also note what Edwards tells us of his religious exercises, "some years before he [I] went to college,"[1] that is as early, certainly, as his tenth year, and of his questionings from childhood respecting the divine sovereignty,[2] no difficulty remains that calls for a supposition to relieve it which is destitute of any external support. One feature of the paper appears to be of some significance. It has a double apologetic beginning, precisely as does the letter introductory to the account of his observations on the Spider. In the latter case the fact is unquestionably due to his desire to obtain a better expression of his own thought. In the other the aim at improvement is no less plain, and it seems equally to be an effort at original composition, and not a recollection of a lesson. Besides, from whom else, or for what conceivable purpose, could the original have proceeded? Or why alone of all the boy's school exercises, should this one have been preserved? Mr. Dwight conjectures that the writer's opponent was some "older boy." Edwards, referring to the time already mentioned, — viz., "some years before" his entering college,—says that he was wont to "spend much time in religious conversation with other boys." He may, then or afterwards, have met with an objector. However this may be, the paper offers no suggestion of being a school exercise. It may well have been an original composition, and beyond reasonable question is of a date as early as Dr. Dwight supposed.

I pass now to the "Notes on Natural Science."

Dr. Dwight refers most of these productions to the last two years of Edwards's college life (1718-1720), and to the period of his tutorship (1724-1726).[3] He also regards

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[1] Dwight's *Memoir* in *Works*, I., 59.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 60.
[3] *Life*, etc., p. 41. *Ib.*, p. 54.

them as original reflections and discoveries.[1] The series entitled "The Mind," is assigned to the same periods, except that it is supposed to have been begun somewhat earlier (1717). Among those which are attributed to the college period are at least two which clearly express their author's Idealism.[2] Edwards's originality in these papers is not doubted.

Professor Lyon finds it difficult to accept this account. The claims put forth by Dr. Dwight seem to him almost incredible. If admitted, Edwards becomes equal to many Pascals, a genius whose intellectual gifts surpass those of Galileo and Newton combined; and, by a double miracle, the prodigy appears all of a sudden.[3]

Professor Lyon, however, is candid and sagacious enough to recognize that the problem which he raises cannot be decided *a priori*, but requires for its elucidation "a methodical comparison of the manuscripts."[4] The work, entitled by its editor "Notes on Natural Science," consists of two half-sheets of foolscap, which are tied together with coarse thread or small soft twine, four following sheets laid into each other, and three additional sheets stitched together, but not infolded,—in all, eight sheets. It once had a cover, of which I have no knowledge except from Mr. Dwight's account. The sequence of the writing on three of the infolded sheets is on the first page of each, leaving the second pages blank, except about half of one of them, which is filled with matter supplementary to the two pages between which it stands. The other pages are filled nearly solid. The hand is very small and the lines near together. There is little erasure. One series of topics appears to be introduced as though the

[1] *Life, etc.*, pp. 702, 739, 740.

[2] Dr. Dwight specifies three, but the representation varies. On p. 39 of the *Life*, the series, *Existence, Space, Substance*, is put between the years 1717 and 1720. On p. 674, note, the third article is referred for its probable date to "a somewhat later period of life."

[3] *L'Idéalisme*, etc., pp. 429, 430.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

copy had been mislaid and afterwards found, and for awhile two series of numbered articles run on together, at first through opposite pages. Shorthand is used twice; three and a half lines of it in all, not including what was on the cover. The color of the ink varies, as does the sharpness of the pen. Sometimes the writing is extremely fine. In general there is no marked difference in the hand from the earlier manuscripts, yet the later numbers seem to show greater freedom. The spelling is good, though there are not a few omissions of letters, as from rapid writing. The diagrams, with a few exceptions, are rather roughly made. In two or three, circles are drawn so correctly as to indicate the use of some instrument. In a fourth, some aid was probably used. Of the rest, the drawing is wholly, or nearly so, by the eye. The cover contains hints for arranging the collection, and rules to secure the most clear, persuasive and convincing presentation of the subjects discussed.[1] There are two series of "things to be Considered, or Written fully about," though this title is inserted but once. One of these series reaches the number thirty-one; the other sixty-five, and then is continued by titles merely.[2] These heads, written in a large, round hand, begin with number sixty-two. The topics are not, as they stand, connected or classified. Thus between the article on a subterranean "Abyss"[3] (a paper in which the compressibility of water is argued, in remarkable anticipation, it is said, of a discovery first published in 1763), and the remarks on "Gravity,"[4] occur observations on the cause of "the pleasure the mind has by the senses,"[5] on the wisdom and goodness of God as shown in the creation of Atoms,[6] and on

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[1] Dwight, *Life*, etc., pp. 702, 703.

[2] Dr. Dwight designates the two "Series" as "First" and "Second." The latter begins first in the *MS.*, the other being apparently copied in, commencing on the sixth page of the infolded sheets.

[3] Dwight, *Life*, etc., p. 746, No. 71.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 744, No. 68.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 721, No. 30, first paragraph.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 760, No. 88.

"SATAN defeated."[1] These phenomena, with others that might be mentioned, show some lapse of time in the composition of the "Notes." So far as numbers are given by the writer, they appear to have been inserted at the time of composition, not added in making up a collection of Notes. A question, however, may arise as to the two half-sheets which I have mentioned first. These contain the papers entitled by their author, "Of the Prejudices of Imagination," and "Of Being." Were these, it may be asked, written prior to the notes on the infolded sheets, or afterwards, and then prefixed, when, possibly, the writer conceived of collecting materials for publication, or at any rate of preserving the *MS.* book which he enclosed in a cover? There is reason to believe that they were written before the papers contained in the folded sheets. There is an additional superscription to the paper "Of the Prejudices," etc., viz., "Lemma to the Whole." The ink with which these words were written is different from that used in the first title, though like that which appears in the third Proposition and subsequent matter appended to the paper. The ink is also like that employed in writing most, I think all, of the paper on "Being," and the one which, without a title, starts on the first page of the infolded sheets, and is well designated by the editor, "Of Atoms and of Perfectly Solid Bodies." This paper, moreover, is evidently referred to in that on "Being," as one that is to follow. The reference is in these words: "What then, [is] to become of the Universe? Certainly it exists nowhere but in the Divine mind. This will be Abundantly Clearer to one after having Read what I have further to say of solidity, etc." There are also reasons, from the style of the papers which stand first in order in the collection, for attributing to them priority in composition.

Edwards began writing in a conspicuously logical and

[1] This article is omitted by the Editor, who has also much changed the *MS.* order of topics, as well as the numbers.

philosophical way very young. We have seen this in the paper on the Soul. The Spider manuscripts show remarkable powers of observation and reasoning. I have published in the *Andover Review* for January, 1890, not only the letter edited by Dr. Dwight, but an earlier record, of which that was a revision, following in spelling, punctuation, capital letters, as completely as possible, the manuscripts. They cannot well be dated later than 1716; and the observations, and not unlikely the first record of them, belong to the year 1715—as early as Edwards's twelfth birthday. I present now a transcript, made in the same way, of a similarly early and unpublished manuscript on the "Rainbow." I have made a careful comparison of the first three articles in the "Notes on Natural Science," with the early papers just referred to, and to some extent with later portions of the "Notes." The papers which stand first in the "Notes,"—viz., "Prejudices of imagination," "Being," "Atoms,"—show quite clearly that, looked at from the point of view of the author's progress in mental development, they may well have been written at least as early as his junior year in college, that is, not later than his sixteenth year. In the preceding year he had read Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" with avidity. "Taking that book into his hand, upon some occasion not long before his death," writes his friend and earliest biographer, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, "he said to some of his select friends who were then with him, that he was beyond expression entertained and pleased with it, when he read it in his youth at college; that he was as much engaged and had more satisfaction and pleasure in studying it, than the most greedy miser in gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some new discovered treasure."[1] According to President Woolsey, when Edwards was a member of college, physics was "the principal study"[2] of the third year. Dr. Hopkins testifies,

[1] Hopkins, *Life and Character of the late Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards*, pp. 3, 4, ed. 1765.

[2] *Edwards Memorial*, p. 31.

referring to the college days of Edwards, that "moral philosophy, or divinity was his favorite study," and also that he "made good proficiency in all the arts and sciences and had an uncommon taste for natural philosophy."[1] If I mistake not, in the notes on "The Mind," which, for some reason not given, Dr. Dwight supposes to have been commenced before those on "Science," Edwards makes an unmistakable reference, in one of the earliest numbers, to the paper on "Being." In the brief paragraph on "Space," which is numbered, according to the order in which it stood in the manuscript, "9," we read: "Space, as has been already observed, is a necessary being, if it may be called a being; and yet we have also shown that all existence is mental, that the existence of all exterior things is ideal." Where is this shown? To what prior proof does the writer refer? Not to any preceding number in this collection on "The Mind," for nothing is found there which answers to the allusion. Does not the paper "Of Being" fully meet the conditions? He argues there that there must be eternal, infinite, omnipresent being; that space is this being; that "Space is God"; that the "universe exists nowhere but in the divine mind." In the sixty-fourth number[2] (equivalent to one hundred and sixteen) of his Miscellanies, a book also supposed to have been begun in college, and containing observations on topics of divinity, he says,—if I may trust one of the unpublished copies to which I have referred,—"We have shown in philosophy that all natural operations are done immediately by God, only in harmony and proportion." The reference, apparently, is to an article standing fortieth in the notes on Mind.[3] This paper, viz. No. 40, was written, therefore, before the series in divinity had far

[1] Hopkins, *Life*, etc., p. 4.

[2] *MS.*, p. 1009. 32 are added for articles designated by single and double letters of the alphabet.

[3] Dwight, *Life*, etc., p. 671.

advanced, a series which finally reached toward 1500 numbers. Now the number in "The Mind" which contains, apparently, the allusions to the paper on "Being," it will be recalled, was in order only "9." Again, in number forty-five, of "The Mind," we read: "As to *Bodies*, we have shown in another place that they have no proper Being of their own." The reference may be to number "13" of the same series,[1] but would be more fully met by the elaborate reasonings of the paper on *Being* and its sequel on *Atoms*.[2] We can carry the evidence still farther back, so far as the copies are available for such a purpose.

In number twenty-seven, a, of the "Miscellanies" we read: "We have shown that absolute nothing is the essence of all contradictions."[3] This is the burthen of the argument in "Of Being." Notice these sentences: "A state of absolute nothing is a state of absolute contradiction. Absolute nothing is the aggregate of all the absurd contradictions in the world." "It is the greatest contradiction and the aggregate of all contradictions to say that there should not be." Evidently the paper "Of Being" had been written when number twenty-seven, a, of the theological collection was composed.

Again, a brief observation belonging to the same series, entitled "God," and marked pp,[4] reminds us throughout of that portion of the essay "Of Being" which maintains that "nothing has any existence any where else but in consciousness." The thought and even the illustration from a room in which there is no one to see what is in it, are reproduced in an argument that eternal being must also be regarded as intelligent. And before this, under the letter f,[5]—that is, in the sixth of the long series approximating 1500 numbers, and carrying us thus close

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[1] Dwight, *Life*, etc., p. 700.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 674. See "Of Being," Coroll. (*ibid.*, p. 708), and "Atoms," Coroll. 9, 11 (p. 713).

[3] *MS.* copy, p. 1. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 1173.

to the beginning of Edwards's observations in divinity,—we find this reference: "As we have shown and demonstrated, that contrary to the opinion . . . . that nothing is substance but matter, that no matter is substance but only God, who is a Spirit, and that other spirits are more substantial than matter, so also," etc. The corollary, which concludes "Of Being," reads: "It follows from hence that those beings which have knowledge and consciousness are the only proper, and real, and substantial beings; inasmuch as the being of other beings is only by these. From hence we may see the gross mistake of those, who think material things the most substantial beings, and spirits more like a shadow; whereas spirits only are properly substance." And in a corollary to the connected article "Of Atoms," it is said, "the substance of bodies at last becomes either nothing, or nothing but the Deity, acting in that particular manner, in those parts of space where he thinks fit; so that speaking most strictly there is no proper substance but God himself."

With these indications of the early origin of the first papers in the "Notes on Science" coincide their literary characteristics. We have at least five pieces of writing, some of them quite long, which plainly belong to the ante-collegiate period, viz.: "The Soul"; the first draft of the Spider paper, entitled "Of insects"; the revised paper in the form of a letter—the one published by Dr. Dwight; the sentences of an apologetic introductory letter; a dated letter to Jonathan's sister Mary. To these, I think, should be added the hitherto unpublished paper on "The Rainbow." The Letter on Spiders shows a marked improvement in style upon the paper entitled "Of insects." It is difficult, probably impossible, to determine how much of this improvement is due to the boy's own careful revision of it, how much to training and growth. Some time may have elapsed between the two compositions, but we cannot form any exact estimate of this. Nor is it important. The sen-

tences of the introductory letter, in which the writer refers to himself as "a child," are penned on the same paper which concludes the revised draft, and with the same ink and characters. There is no indication of extraneous help. We have thus a fair index of the boy's growth about the time he entered college. The "Rainbow" gives us further aid. We have it in a draft which compares remarkably with the paper "Of insects." Pen, ink, hand are apparently the same. There are other noticeable indications of its early origin to be found in spelling, construction of sentences, and other childlike characteristics of style. The local allusions are significant. The house of the father, Rev. Timothy Edwards, was built of timber drawn on the snow in winter "from the distant mill."[1] It fronted the west, and the land behind it "sloped toward the east to the brook that flowed at the foot of a steeper hill which was then crowned with a beautiful forest of primeval trees."[2] In "Of the Rainbow," the writer gives a reason for the saying that a rainbow in the east is a sign of fair weather, and narrates that he has "frequently heard my [his] countrymen[3] that are used to saw-mills say," etc., and remarks, further, that we "almost always see the ends of rainbows come down even in amongst the trees below the hills, and to the very ground." His description, also, of his philosophical apparatus is quite in point,—"a drop of water upon the end of a stick," a glass bottle, a puddle, and the "taking a little water in my mouth, and standing between the sun and something that looks a little darkish and spirting of it into the air so as to disperse all into fine drops." With this primitive apparatus, and local and domestic coloring, are combined acute observation and clear reasoning,

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[1] *Windsor Farmes.* By John A. Stoughton, Hartford, 1883, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[3] In "Of insects," he says: "almost everybody Specially of my own Country," and refers to a time "when I was in the Woods," and in the "Flying Spider" to observations made "Standing at Some Distance behind the End of an house."

and, as in "Of insects," a reference to Sir Isaac Newton's discussions of rays of light.

Proceeding further, we make a natural and easy connection with the papers "Of the Prejudices of imagination," "Of Being," and on "Atoms." There is advance in reasoning power, in range of thought, and yet no greater development than might easily have come to such a boy in passing from childhood to the latter part of his Sophomore or to his Junior year. There is also much that reminds us of the earlier stage. This is specially noteworthy. I should weary you were I to present the many particulars which satisfy me that there is a somewhat close resemblance and connection. I will try and indicate the nature of the argument, though it is so much one of details that I cannot take time to do justice to its cogency.

I notice, first, a similar awkwardness, occasionally, in the construction of sentences. The study of a later paper shows marked improvement. The change in it of a word now and then would be of advantage, but the sentences are not twisted and distorted as though the thought was struggling for expression. On the contrary, the style is for the most part clear, terse, and even rhythmical. This resemblance between the earlier articles in the "Notes" and the pre-collegiate papers, on the one hand, and the difference, on the other, from the later one, are somewhat obscured for the reason already stated in the papers as printed by Dr. Dwight, but the manuscripts make it palpable. Take this sentence from "Of Being": "then you 'll say for the same Reason in a Room Close Shut Up that no body sees nor hears nothing in it there is nothing any otherway than in God's knowledge." Or this, from the paper on "Atoms," which is a sequel and support to "Of Being": "as it will appear rather more Plain by another instance as Suppose the bodye to be a Perfect Solid in that Shape wider at the Upper and by Degrees to Come quite to a point at the Lower to be thrust," etc., etc.

For a parallel from the earlier papers it will suffice to quote part of a sentence from the manuscript "Of insects": "The reason may be that the Multitude and Powerfullness of the Rays affects a Greater Part of the Retina than their space which they immediately strike Upon, but we find that a light that so Does when it is a lone and when No part of the Retina is affected by any thing else but that, so that the least impression is felt by it, wont Do so or att least Not so much in the midst of other Perhaps Greater light, so that other Parts Of the Retina are filled with impressions of their Own." If with the foregoing sentences in mind the article on "Colours" is read, the illustration of my point will be completed.[1]

Common to the pre-collegiate papers and those which stand first in the "Notes," etc., are other characteristics which also mark youthfulness and immaturity. They are more readily felt than described, but may be summed up in the words, intensity, and positiveness,—an intensity which runs over into exaggeration of phraseology, positiveness which in its own clearness and strength of conviction has not learned by experience how to introduce and adjust its statements to the working and needs of other minds. The manuscript "Of the Rainbow" opens thus: "We shall Endeavour to Give a full Account Of the Rainbow and such an One as we think if Well understood will be satisfactory to Any body If they Are fully satisfied Of Sr Isaac Newtons Different Reflexibility and Refrangibility of the Rays of light and If he be not we Refer him to [what] he has said About it and we are Assured if he be A person Of an ordinary logacity and anything Versed in such matters, by that time he has throughly Considered it he[']ll be satisfied and after that let him Peruse what we are about to say." "Of the Prejudices of imagination" opens thus: "Of all Prejudices no one so fights with naturall Philosophy,

[1] See Appendix D.

and prevails more against it, than those of imagination tis that which make the vulgar so roar out upon the mention of some very Rational Philosophicall truths." Again: "Opinions arising from imagination take us as soon as we are born, are beat into us by every act of sensation," etc. "Neither will anybody flatly Deny," etc. "Men Come to make what they Can actually Percieve by their senses or by immediate outside Reflection into their own souls the standard of Possibility and imposibility: so that their must be no body forsooth bigger than they Can Concieve of or Less than they Can See with their eyes." The essay "Of Being" abounds in intense expressions: "it put's the mind into mere Convulsion and Confusion to endeavour to think of such a state"; "it is the Greatest Contradiction and the Aggregate of all Contradictions to say that there should not be"; "indeed we Can mean nothing else by nothing but a state of Absolute Contradiction; and If any man thinks that he Can think well Enough how there should be nothing I'll Engage that what he means by nothing is as much something as any thing that ever He thought of in his Life"; "I Demand in what Respect this world has a being but only in the Divine Consciousness Cèrtainly in no Respect."

Positiveness, as well as intensity, belonged to Edwards's thinking permanently. But there is a touch of something in these papers which is not felt as we read on. The second page of the cover of the "Notes on Natural Science" contained this rule, which he prescribed to himself: "In writing let there be much compliance with the reader's weakness, and according to the rules in the Ladies' Library, Vol. I., p. 340, and sequel."[1] The work there named appeared in London, in 1714. It was "written by a Lady," and introduced by Richard Steele, who also writes a dedication for each of its three volumes, and in the first characterizes the book as a "Collection for the use of female life."

[1] Dwight, *Life*, etc., p. 108.

Edwards's reference is to a portion of an essay on "Charity." The writer urges that giving should be attended with "especial care not to oppress the modesty of the humble." The needy "have really a kind of property in the small of their estates which charity should lay by for them." Duty toward them is a "debt of honor," and "is not performed when the haughty and rude air of the giver takes away from the receiver the relish of the comfort he proposed to himself from the charity he applied to him for." In benefiting others we may "act the part, and the best part too, of the Almighty Father of beings." How has his Son commended charity in that He "forsook his Father's bosom and came down into our nature to relieve a poor perishing world and rescue it from eternal destruction." There is a pleasing simplicity and youthful ingenuousness in this college boy's reference to such a book and essay. He was trained to defer to his elders, and in courtesy. His letter introductory to "The Flying Spider" reveals a charming modesty. He nowhere shows a consciousness that he is doing anything extraordinary. Yet it were not strange if, as already intimated, in the first stirrings within him of his wonderful powers, his intellectual alertness and quickness made him impatient of the comparatively sluggish operations of other minds. Perhaps only through experience of life and by self-discipline, as well as by the timely aid of parental training, did he learn to do justice to the divine right of some persons to be slow and dull.[1] This, however, is

[1] It would be interesting, and might be of importance to the inquiry as to the date of the "Notes on Natural Science," if it could be ascertained when or how Edwards had access to the first volume of the "Ladies' Library." Its preface is dated July 21, 1714. Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, M.A., Asst. Librarian, Yale University, informs me that the college had no copy when Edwards was connected with it. He may have seen it in the home where a tenth sister was born early in his Junior Year. Mr. Dwight (*Life*, etc., p. 17) says that his sisters were "Sent . . to Boston to finish their education." One of them may have brought a copy back with her.

In *Windsor Farmes*, p. 147, June 5, 1718, is given as the date of birth of Martha Edwards. This is probably a misprint for Jan. 5. Over date of Jan. 27, 171⅞, Rev. Timothy Edwards states that this daughter "was Just

mainly conjecture.[1] He became one of the meekest and humblest of men. Nor in his beginnings would we fail to discriminate between a positiveness which was the natural effect of remarkable clearness of vision and zeal for truth, and an undue self-assertion, or mere inconsiderateness of others' limitations. Still less would we confuse with over-intense and exaggerated expression the tokens of imaginative power in these early papers,—the vivid description of his having "Severall times seen in a Very Calm and serene Day . . . standing behind some Opake body that shall Just hide the Disk of the sun and keep of his Dazling rays from my eye and looking close by the side of it, multitudes of little shining webbs and Glistening strings of a Great Length and at such a height as that one would think they were tack'd to the Sky by one end were it not that they were moving and floating"; or the injunction that if we would "Go About to form an idea of Perfect nothing" we must not "suffer our thoughts to take sanctuary in a mathematical point," and "when we Go to Expell body out of Our thoughts we must Cease not to leave empty space in the Room of it and when we Go to Expell emptiness from Our thoughts we must not think to squeese it out by any thing Close hard and solid but we must think of the same that the sleeping Rocks Dream of."

The conclusion to which the preceding examination points accords with other indications which must be dismissed

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three weeks old the Last Sabbath day morning." In the same letter is the allusion to the son quoted by Dr. Dwight: "I have not heard but that your Brother Jonathan also is well; he hath a very Good name at Weathersfield, but [both?] as to his Carriage and his Learning."

[1] In a letter already cited, Rev. Timothy Edwards, under date of Sunday, August 7, 1711, writes to Mrs. Edwards: "I hope thou wilt take Special care of Jonathan y^{t} he dont Learn to be rude & naught &c— of wch thou and I have Lately Discoursed." Jonathan had not then seen his eighth birthday. The message may refer to some influence from without, rather than to any tendency from within. It is cautionary, and may imply some degree of solicitude, but does not indicate the occasion or cause. It is also too early to be connected with any phenomena in the *MSS.*

with a word. There are occasional youthful expressions,—such as the word "horrid," for which the editor substituted "stark," in the clause: "We Cannot talk about it without Speaking horrid Nonsense." More trustworthy is the evidence from spelling, punctuation and use of capital letters. Each of these characteristics helps to confirm the relation otherwise exhibited of the early papers in the "Notes on Science" to those written before admission to college and those which may have been composed after graduation.

This opinion of their date suits, also, what I may call the general situation. Edwards was trained from childhood to use the pen. He began writing on Natural History and Physics very early. He had a strong love for these studies. There must have been a beginning of the collection called "Notes," etc. The most natural time for it is the period when his mind had been stimulated by Locke, and when his college studies brought Natural Philosophy to the front. He remained at college nearly two years after graduating. The numbers in his "Miscellanies," as I learn from the manuscript copies, together with those which have been published, show that during a portion of this graduate period he was preparing for what Dr. Hopkins calls his "trials," that is, his examination for approbation as a preacher of the gospel. In June or July, 1722, he was thus approved, and in August took the charge of a Presbyterian Church in New York City. Subsequently he preached in Bolton, Connecticut,[1] but later returned to New Haven, where, in the following June, he entered on his duties as tutor. During his tutorship the college was without a permanent head. The three tutors, called the "pillar tutors," had, in that troublous time, a heavy burden to sustain. At the close of the first year Edwards was laid aside by severe and dangerous illness for about three months. He was sought for by the churches. He at length (in 1726)

[1] Stoughton, *Windsor Farmes*, p. 82.

accepted the call to Northampton, to assist his venerable grandfather, Solomon Stoddard.

Probably from this time his mind was more and more absorbed in what became the work of his life. Of this subsequent period President Woolsey says, referring to Edwards's early "speculations" on matter and mind, "I have not found any evidence that these enquiries were resumed at a later period; probably his ministerial work and the science of theology with the study of the Scriptures occupied all his attention during his later years."[1] This opinion was expressed at the reunion of the Edwards family at Stockbridge, in 1870. Neither then nor since, so far as I am aware, has anything appeared to modify it. Recalling now the evidence from the manuscripts as to the early beginning of the articles on subjects in natural science and mental philosophy, it may fairly be claimed that Dr. Dwight's judgment of the time at which these papers were written is moderate and sound. If any change is to be made, it would apparently be in the direction of earlier rather than later dates.

The principal object of this report is now accomplished. Two suggestions will be added that naturally arise.

The evidence adduced quite clearly indicates that "Of Being" was one of the earliest of Edwards's philosophical productions. He repeatedly, apparently, refers to it. His idealism was thus at the beginning and foundation of his philosophy. The question deserves renewed examination, aided by whatever light his unpublished manuscripts may shed upon the inquiry, what influence had this speculative conclusion upon his conceptions of spiritual life and of various tenets in divinity?

Again, the earlier the date of the paper on *Being*, the less likelihood is there of any influence from Berkeley on the mind of the writer. Such influence, indeed, is still

[1] *Edwards Memorial*, Boston, Congregational Publishing Society, pp. 32, 33.

possible, so far as dates are concerned. Three important writings expressing the principles of Berkeleian philosophy were published by its author between the years 1709 and 1713. The earliest probable date of the paper "Of Being" is 1717–1718. Copies of the "Essay toward a Theory of Vision" (Dublin, 1709), or of the "Principles of Human Knowledge" (Dublin, 1710), or the "Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous" (London, 1713), may easily, before 1718, have crossed the sea; although there would be nothing strange, considering the times, the absence of journals heralding new publications, the character of Berkeley's theory, if his writings had not early attracted attention in this remote world.[1] But however this may have been, it seems hardly possible that a youth, fourteen or fifteen years of age, could have read a writer so charming as Berkeley in style, diction, appeal to the imagination, and not betray in expressing his thoughts some traces of such a master. If, besides, we suppose that he was indebted for his main thought to Berkeley, for his way of looking at the subject of which he treats, the reflection at once arises which another has expressed: "Edwards was not the man to conceal a real obligation." Nor is this difficulty removed by the fact that we are dealing with private notes and remarks. He makes in them too much of idealism as his own view, treats it as too important, recurs to it too often, to make it easy to suppose he was dealing with borrowed matter, or was conscious of its appropriation. In one instance, to a brief note on "Density Pores," he adds: "N. B. This has been thought of before." The names of Newton, Locke, Cudworth, appear; there is not the slightest trace of a reference to Berkeley. To this should be added that there is no evidence, as yet discovered, that any work of Berkeley was accessible to Edwards while a student either at Wethersfield or New Haven. No copy, so far as

[1] Information on this point is respectfully solicited by the writer.

known, was in the college library. Tutor Johnson, afterwards President of Columbia College, who became substantially a Berkeleian, was not Edwards's teacher, unless for a few disturbed weeks in December, 1718, and January, 1719, during which the Wethersfield students were at New Haven, and he "is said to have first become interested in Berkeley's idealism when he went to England in 1723 for Episcopal ordination."[1] Soon after Berkeley's arrival, in January, 1729, at Newport, Rhode Island, Johnson was introduced to him and was presented "with those of the Dean's publications which had not fallen under his eye." On June 25, the same year, Berkeley writes to him: "I know not whether you have got my treatise concerning the principles of Human Knowledge. I intend to send it with my tract *De Motu*." It is not clear that, even at this late date, Johnson possessed so important an exposition of the Berkeleian philosophy as the *Principles*. Edwards was then at Northampton, where he was ordained early in 1727. A remark, however, of one of Johnson's biographers, Dr. Beardsley,[2] deserves notice at this point. He says: "When Johnson graduated in 1714, something had been heard of these great names [viz., Descartes, Boyle, Locke, and Newton], as well as of a new philosophy that was attracting attention in England, but the young men were cautioned against receiving it, and told that it would corrupt the pure religion of the country and bring in another system of divinity."[3] Unfortunately no authority is given for this statement, and its immediate author is no more with us. It is indefinite, may arise from the antedating of a later impression, or may misinterpret some reference. If the original allusion—assuming such an one—is to Berkeleianism,

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[1] See President Porter's *The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop George Berkeley*, etc., 1885, p. 71.

[2] Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, 1874, pp. 67, 72.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 5. See also the interesting discussion in Professor Allen's *Jonathan Edwards*, 1889, pp. 14 *et seq.*

it is open to suspicion and needs corroboration. Not unlikely, so far as Dr. Beardsley's statement may be founded in fact, something other than Berkeley's philosophy is implied[1]. Though it is impossible to determine all that was in the air in the Connecticut valley in Edwards's youth, no sufficient reason has yet been given for supposing that any of Berkeley's writings had fallen into his hands when he wrote the paper "Of Being," and there are not a few reasons for thinking that he was still writing, as when he described the ends of Rainbows as "almost alwaies" seen descending "even in amongst the trees below the hills," from such thoughts as came to him from within his own horizon. From across the waters the minds that most were stirring his own were, in physics, Sir Isaac Newton's; in philosophy, Locke's. Indeed, so far as appears, we need, in order to account for his idealism, to recognize only these forces: the early fascination for him of Newton's discoveries respecting light and colors; the philosophy of Locke, especially the stress laid on sensation as explaining the origin of ideas; his own extraordinary

[1] Locke's philosophy excited strenuous opposition in England on the ground of its alleged inconsistency with the accepted religious beliefs and its sceptical tendencies. See President Porter's account of Locke's critics in Appendix to Morris's Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, Vol. II., pp. 346 *Sqq*. It is easier to suppose that in 1714 young men in this country were cautioned against Locke's philosophy than against Berkeley's. [Since the foregoing note was in type, I have compared Beardsley's statement with Chandler's, published in 1805, but written much earlier. The former appears to be merely a reproduction of the latter yet by transposing the order of two clauses, and using the phrase "as well as," it suggests, I presume unintentionally, that the "new philosophy" was something distinct from that of the men who are named. Dr. Chandler's words are: "Indeed, at the time when Mr. Johnson took his *Bachelor's* degree, the students had heard of a certain new and strange philosophy that was in vogue in England, and the names of Des Cartes, Boyle, Locke and Newton had reached them, but they were not suffered to think that any valuable improvements were to be expected from philosophical innovations. They were told that a new philosophy would soon bring in a new divinity, and corrupt the pure religion of the country," etc. The "new philosophy" here referred to is plainly that of the philosophers who are mentioned. Berkeley's name, it will be noticed, does not appear. See Chandler's *Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, pp. 4, 5. *Cf.* statement, on p. 14 of the introduction after September, 1717, of "the study of Mr. Locke and Sir Isaac Newton."]

deductive power, so early exhibited and henceforth at once his strength and his weakness; and his wonderful sense of the immediateness of the divine presence and agency. All this at least concurred to make him an idealist and a determinist, and might even have carried him over into sheer pantheism but for his Bible, his human, Puritan, New England conscience, and his early, clear, constant, and intense thought of God as perfect Knowledge and perfect Love.[1]

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[1] See extracts from copies of unpublished "Observations" in *Andover Review*, xiii. 295 *et seq.*

APPENDIX.

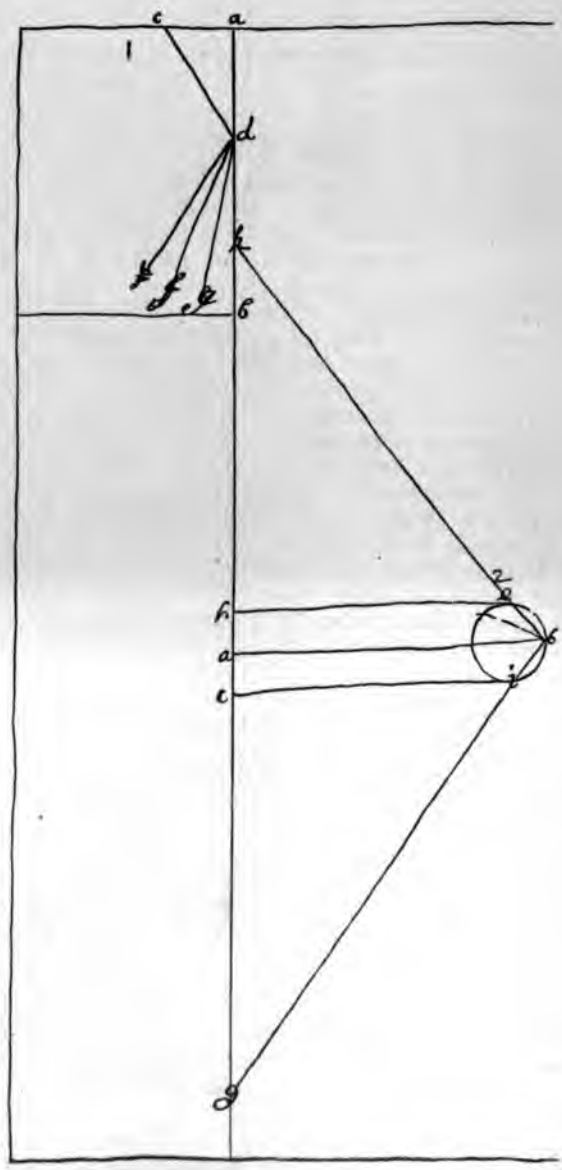
A.

[THE SOUL][1]

I am informed y^{t} you have advaned a notion y^{t} the Soul is mate-
real & keeps wth y^{e}. body till ye resurction as I am aprofes't
Lover of Novelty you must alow me to be much entertain 'd by
this discoverry wch however old in some parts of ye world is new
in this

I am imformed y^{t} you have advanced an Notion y^{t} the Soul is
materiall & attends ye body till ye resurection as I am a profest
Lover of novelty you must immagin I am very much entertained
by this discovery (wch however in some parts of ye world is new
to us) but suffer my Curiosity a Littel further I w^{d} know ye man-
ner of ye kingdom before I swear alegance 1st I w^{d} know whether
this materiall Soul keeps wth in ye Coffin and if so whether it
might not be convenient to build a repository for it in order to
wch I w^{d} know w^{t} Shape it is of whether round triangular or fore
square or whethe is it a number of Long fine strings reaching
from ye head to ye foot and whether it dus not Live a very dis-
contented Life I am afraid when ye Coffin Gives way ye earth
will fall in and Crush it but if it should Chuse to Live above
Ground and hover about ye Grave how big it is whether it Covers
all ye body or is assined to ye head or breast or how if it Covers
all ye body w^{t} it dus when another body is Laid upon y^{t} whether
ye 1st First Gives way and if so where is ye place of retreat but
soppose ye Souls are not so big but y^{t} 10 or a dozen of you may
be about one body whether yy will not Quarril for ye highest
place and as I insist much upon my honnour and property I w^{d}
know wher I must Quit my dear head if a Superior Soul Comes
in ye way but above all I am Consearned to know w^{t} they do
where a bureing Place has bin filled 20 30 or 100 times if they
are a top of one another ye uppermost will be so far of y^{t} it Can
take no Care of y^{e} body I strongly susspect they must march of
every time there Comes anew Set I hope ther is some Good
place provided for them but dupt [d(o)ubt?] y^{e} undergoing so
much hard Ship & being deprived of y^{e} body at Last will make
them ill temper'd I Live it $_{A}$wth your phisicall Genus to determin
whether some medesinall applications might not be proper in
such Cases and subscrib your proselite when I can have solution
of these maters

[1] In copying the MSS. for this and the following reprints it has been found extremely difficult, at times, to determine whether or not the writer intends to capitalize. The letter s is especially uncertain in this respect. Brackets mark letters or words not in the manuscript.


c
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B.

OF THE RAINBOW

We shall Endeavour to Give a full Account Of the Rainbow and such an One as we think if Well understood will be satisfactory to Any body If they Are fully satisfied Of Sr Isaac Newtons Different Reflexibility and Refrangibility of the Rays of light and If he be not we Refer him to [what] he has said About it and we are Assured if he be A person Of an ordinary logacity and anything Versed in such matters, by that time he has throughly Considered it he[']ll be satisfied and after that let him Peruse what we are about to say the first Question then shall be What is that Reflection which we Call a Rainbow from I answer from the falling Drops of Rain for we never see any Rainbow except it be so that the sun Can shine full upon the Drops of Rain except the heavens be so Clear on One side as to let the Uninterrupted Rays Of the sun Come Directly Upon the Rain that [?] falls on the Other side, thus we say it is a sign of fair Weather when there is a Rainbow in the East, because when there is a Rainbow in the east, it is alwaies already fair in the West for If it be Cloudy there the Rays of the sun will be hindered from Coming thence to the Opposite Drops of Rain. It Cannot be the Cloud from whence this Reflection is made, as was once thought, for we almost alwaies see the Ends of Rainbows Come Down Even in amongst the trees below the Hills And to the very Ground where we know there is no part of the Cloud there, but what Descends in Drops of Rain and Can Convince any man by Ocular Demonstration In two Minutes On a fair Day that the Reflection is from Drops by Only taking a little water in my mouth and standing between the sun and something that looks a little Darkish and spirting of it into the Air so as to Disperse all into fine Drops And there will appear as Compleat and plain a Rainbow with all the Colours as ever Was seen in the heavens and there will Appear the same If the sun is near enough to the horizon upon fine Drops of Water Dashd up by a stick from a puddle, the Reason why the Drops must be fine is because they wont be thick enough but here and there a Drop if they Are Large, And I have frequently heard my Countrymen that are Used to sawmills say that they have seen a Rainbow upon the Drops that are Dispersed in the Air by the Violent Concussion of the Waters in the Mill and what Is Equivalent to A Rainbow, If One take a Drop of water upon the end of a Stick and hold it up On the side that is Opposite to the sun and moving it along towards One side or t'other you will Percieve where the Drop is held just at such a Distance from the Point opposite to the sun that the Rays of the sun are much more vividly Reflected by it to your eye, than at any other Place Nearer Or further of and that in the Colours of the Rainbow too

so that If there had been Enough of these Drops there would have appeared a perfect Rainbow. and If you have a mind to see more Distinctly you may fill a Globular Glass bottle with water, the Glass of it must be very thin and Clear, and it will serve your turn as well as so big a Drop of Water and by that means you may also Distinctly see that the Reflection is from the Concave and not from the Convex surface

The Next thing that Wants a solution is what should Cause the Reflection to be Circular, or which is the same thing what should Cause the Reflection to be Just at such a Distance everywhere from the Point that is opposite to the sun, and no reflection at all from the Drops that are within or without that Circle why should not all the Drops that are within the Circle Reflect as many rays as those that are in the Circle or where the Circle is to Resolve this we must Consider this One law of Reflection and Refraction to wit If the Reflecting body be Perfectly Reflexive the Angle of Reflexion will be the same as the Angle of incidence but if the body be not Perfectly so the Angle will be less than the Angle of incidence, by a body Perfectly Reflexive I mean one that is so Solid as Perfectly to Resist the stroke of the incident body and not to Give way to it at all, and by and imperfectly Reflexive a body that Gives way and Does not Obstinately Resist the stroke Of the incident Body so I say that If the body a. b. be Perfectly Reflexive and Does not Give way at all to the stroke of the incident Ray c. d. It will Reflect by an angle that shall be equall to that by which it fell upon the body a. b. from d. to e. but if the body a. b. is not able to Resist the stroke of the Ray c. d. but Gives way to it it will neither be able to Reflect by so big an angle but will Reflect it it may be by the line d. f. or d. g. according as the Reflexive force of a. b. be greater or lesser. And the bare Consideration of this will be enough to Convince any man for we know that there is need of Greater force by a Great angle than by a little one. if we throw a ball against the floor or Wall it will much easier Rebound sidewaies than Right back again and [if] we throw it sideways against a body that Gives way to the stroke of (it may be tried at any time) it will not Rebound in so big an angle as if the body were quite hard, so it is the same thing in the body a. b. it might Give way so much as to let the Ray proceed Right on with very little Deviation from its old path and if so the Deviation will be greater and greater in proportion to the Resisting Power of the body and if so if it Gives way at all it will not Deviate so much as if it Did not at all Now these Drops of water is one of these imperfectly Reflexive bodies If they were Perfectly Reflexive we should see those Drops that are right opposite to Reflect as many Rays as those that are Just so much on one side had the liquor but Resistance enough to Reflect the Rays so Directly back again, but those

☞ note well for a halo

Rays that fall Perpendicularly or near Perpendicularly upon the Concave surface of the Drop as from a. to b. fig 2 falling with much Greater force than the Ray, which falls sideways upon it from e. to b. after the Refraction at e which is made in all pellucid Globes. the Concave surface has not force enough to stop it and Reflect it, (what that Reflexive force of the [Concav]e[1] surface is we are not now Disputing) but lets Go through and Pass right on Uninterruptedly [N]ow the Ray h. e. b. and the Rays Which fall about so obliquely Coming with a far [light-]er stroke the concave surface has force enough to Resist it and what falls Obliquely being far more easily Reflex[ible] Reflects it along in the line b. g. and so in the same manner the Ray c. i. b. will be Reflected to k. so that an eye so much sideways as g. or k. will take the Rays thus Reflected from the Drops and no where Else And it being Only those Ray whose Obliquity is adjusted [to] the Refractive power that are Reflected by it, and they being all Reflected Out again with such a Degree of Obliquity we hence see why the Rays be not Reflected all ways equally, we hence Also see why the Rays are Only Reflected out at the sides of the Drop and not Directly back again by that why the Eye Does not take the Rays from any Drops but those that are so much sideways of or on one side of the Point that is Right Oposite to the sun and so why the Parts that are so Opposite Look Dark and why the Parts that are Just so much on one side or just At such A Distance all Round from the Opposite Point Alone Are bright or which is the same thing why there is such a bright Circle the next Grand Question is what is it Causes the Colours Of the Rainbow and this Question indeed is almost answered already for it is very evident:

C.

OF BEING

That there should absolutely be nothing at all is utterly impossible, the Mind Can never Let it stretch its Conceptions ever so much bring it self to Concieve of a state of Perfect nothing, it put's the mind into mere Convulsion and Confusion to endeavour to think of such a state, and it Contradicts the very nature of the soul to think that it should be, and it is the Greatest Contradiction and the Aggregate of all Contradictions to say that there should not be, tis true we Cant so Distinctly show the Contradiction by words because we Cannot talk about it without Speaking horrid Nonsense and Contradicting our selve at every word, and because nothing is that whereby we Distinctly show other particular Contradictions, but here we are Run up to Our first principle and have no other to explain the Nothingness or not being of nothing by, indeed we Can mean nothing else

[1] The MS. is defective here.

by nothing but a state of Absolute Contradiction; and If any man thinks that he Can think well Enough how there should be nothing I'll Engage that what he means by nothing is as much something as any thing that ever He thought of in his Life, and I believe that if he knew what nothing was it would be intuitively Evident to him that it Could not be. So that we see it is necessary some being should Eternally be and tis a more palpable Contradiction still to say that there must be being somewhere and not otherwhere for the words absolute nothing, and where, Contradict each other; and besides it Gives as great a shock to the mind to thing of pure nothing being in any one place, as it Does to think of it in all and it is self evident that there Can be nothing in one place as well as in another and so if there Can be in one there Can be in all. So that we see this necessary eternall being must be infinite and Omnipresent[1]

This Infinite And omnipresent being Cannot be solid. Let us see how Contradictory it is to say that an infinite being is solid, for Solidity surely is nothing but Resistance to other solidities.

Space is this Necessary eternal infinite and Omnipresent being, we find that we can with ease Concieve how all other beings should not be, we Can remove them out of our Minds and Place some Other in the Room of them, but Space is the very thing that we Can never Remove, and Concieve of its not being, If a man would imagine space any where to be Divided So as there should be Nothing between the Divided parts, there Remains Space between notwithstanding and so the man Contradicts himself, and it is self evident I believe to every man that space is necessary, eternal, infinite, & Omnipresent. but I had as Good speak Plain, I have already said as much as that Space is God, and it is indeed Clear to me, that all the Space there is not proper to body, all the space there is without ye Bounds of the Creation, all the space there was before the Creation, is God himself, and no body would in the Least stick at it if it were not because of the Gross Conceptions that we have of space.

A state of Absolute nothing is a state of Absolute Contradiction absolute nothing is the Aggregate of all the Absurd[?] contradictions in the World, a state wherin there is neither body nor spirit, nor space neither empty space nor full space

[1] Between this paragraph and the next are the words: "Place this as a Lemma where it suits best and Let it be more fully [d]emonstr" [demonstrated]. The last word is very obscurely written. It seems to begin with an s, as though another word were in mind than the one adopted, as suggested by the following letters, if these are rightly read. In the margin, running down from against the first line of the second paragraph are these words: "Place this somewhere else." A mark drawn above "Place this as a Lemma" etc., seems to indicate that this direction refers to the same paragraph.

neither little nor Great, narrow nor broad neither infinitely Great space, nor finite space, nor a mathematical point neither Up nor Down neither north nor south (I dont mean as it is with Respect to the body of the earth or some other Great body but no Contrary Point, nor Positions or Directions[)] no such thing as either here Or there this way or that way or only one way; When we Go About to form an idea of Perfect nothing we must shut Out all these things we must shut out of our minds both space that has something in it and space that has nothing in it we must not allow our selves to think of the least part of space never so small, nor must we suffer our thoughts to take sanctuary in a mathematical point, when we Go to Expell body out of Our thoughts we must Cease not to leave empty space in the Room of it and when we Go to Expell emptiness from Our thoughts we must not think to squeese it out by any thing Close hard and solid but we must think of the same that the sleeping Rocks Dream of and not till then shall we Get a Compleat idea of nothing

a state of nothing is a state wherin every Proposition in Euclid is not true, nor any of those self evident maxims by which they are Demonstrated & all other Eternal truths are neither true nor false

when we Go to Enquire whether or no there Can be absolutely nothing we speak nonsense in Enquiring the stating of the Question is Nonsense because we make a disjunction where there is none either being or absolute nothing is no Disjunction no more than whether a tiangle is a tiangle or not a tiangle there is no other way but Only for there to be existence there is no such thing as absolute nothing. There is such a thing as nothing with Respect to this Ink & paper there is such a thing as nothing with Respect to you & me there is such a thing as nothing with Respect to this Globe of Earth & with Respect to this Created universe there is another way besides these things having existence but there is no such thing as nothing with Respect to Entity or being absolutely Considered we don't know what we say if we say we think it Possible in it self that there should not be Entity

and how Doth it Grate upon the mind to thing that something should be from all Eternity, and nothing all the while be Conscious of it let us suppose to illustrate it that the world had a being from all Eternity, and had many Great Changes and Wonderfull Revolutions, and all the while nothing knew, there was no knowledge in the Universe of any such thing, how is it possible to bring the mind to imagine, yea it is Really impossible it should be that Any thing should be and nothing know it then you'll say if it be so it is because nothing has Any existence any where else but in Consciousness no certainly no where else but either in Created or uncreated Consciousness

Supposing there were Another Universe only of bodies Created at a Great Distance from this Created in excellent Order and harmonious motions, and a beautifull variety, and there was no Created intelligence in it nothing but sensèless bodies, nothing but God knew anything of it I Demand in what Respect this world has a being but only in the Divine Consciousness Certainly in no Respect there would be figures and magnitudes, and motions and Proportions but where where Else but in the almightie's knowledge how is it possible there should, then you'll say for the same Reason in a Room Close Shut Up that no body sees nor hears nothing in it there is nothing any otherway than in Gods knowledge I answer Created beings are Conscious of the Effects of what is in the Room, for Perhaps there is not one leaf of a tree nor Spire of Grass but what has effects All over the universe and will have to the End of Eternity but any otherwise there is nothing in a Room shut up but only in Gods Consciousness how Can Any thing be there Any other way this will appear to be truly so to Any one that thinks of it with the whole united strength of his mind. Let us suppose for illustration this impossibility that all the Spirits in the Universe to be for a time to be Deprived of their Consciousness, and Gods Consciousness at the same time to be intermitted. I say the Universe for that time would cease to be of it self and not only as we speak because the almighty Could not attend to Uphold the world but because God knew nothing of it tis our foolish imagination that will not suffer us to see we fancy there may be figures and magnitudes Relations and properties without any ones knowing of it, but it is our imagination hurts us we Dont know what figures and Properties Are.

Our imagination makes us fancy we see Shapes an Colours and magnitudes tho no body is there to behold it but to help our imagination Let us thus State the Case, Let us suppose the world Deprived of Every Ray of light so that there should not be the least Glimering of light in the Universe Now all will own that in such Case the Universe would be immediately Really Deprived of all its Colours. one part of the Universe is no More Red or blue, or Green or Yellow or black or white or light or dark or transparent or opake there would be no visible Distinction between the world and the Rest of the incomprehensible Void yea there would be no Difference in these Respect between the world and the infinite void, that is any Part of that void would really be as light and as Dark, as white and as black as Red and Green as blue and as brown as transparent and as opake as Any Part of the universe, or as there would be in such Case no Difference between the world and nothing in these Respects so there would be no Difference between one part of the world and another all in these Respects is alike confounded with and undistinguishable from infinite emptiness

At the same time also Let us suppose the Universe to be altogether Deprived of motion, and all parts of it to be at perfec Rest (the same supposition is indeed included in this but we Distinguish them for better Clearness) then the Universe would not Differ from the void in this Respect, there will be no more motion in one than the other then also solidity would cease, all that we mean or Can be meant by solidity is Resistance Resistance to touch, the Resistance of some parts of Space, this is all the knowledge we Get of solidity by our senses and I am sure all that we Can Get any other way, but solidity shall be shown to be nothing Else more fully hereafter. but there Can be no Resistance if there is no motion, one body Can [not] Resist another when there is perfect Rest Amongst them, but you'll say tho there is not actuall Resistance yet there is potential existence, that is such and such Parts of space would Resist upon occasion, but this Is all I would have that there is no solidity now not but that God would Cause there to be on occasion and if there is no solidity there is no extension for extension is the extenddness of the solidity, then all figure, and magnitude and proportion immediately Ceases. put both these suppositions together that is Deprive the world of light and motion and the Case would stand thus with the world, there would [be] neither white nor black neither blew nor brown, bright nor shaded pellucid nor opake, no noise or sound neither heat nor Cold, neither fluid nor Wet nor Drie hard nor soft nor solidity nor Extension, nor figure, nor magnitude nor Proportion nor body nor spirit, what then [is] to become of the Universe Certainly it exists no where but in the Divine mind this will be Abundantly Clearer to one after having Read what I have further to say of solidity &c

So that we see that a world without motion Can Exist no where Else but in the mind either infinite or finite

Corollary. it follows from hence that that those beings which have knowledge and Consciousness are the Only Proper and Real And substantial beings, inasmuch as the being of other things is Only by these. from hence we may see the Gross mistake of those who think material things the most substantial beings and spirits more like a shadow, whereas spirits Only Are Properly Substance.

D

[COLORS.]

[From p. 28 of the MS. folio.]

COLOURS we have already supposed that the Different Refrangibility of Rays Arises from their Different bulk, we have also supposed that they Are very Elastick bodies, from these suppositions the Colours of natural bodies *may be accounted for*[1]

[1] The words Italicized in print have a line through them in the Manuscript.

that is why some Particles of matter Reflect such a sort or sorts of Rays and no Other the Different Density of Particles whence Arises a Different attraction and together with their Different firmness will account for all some bodies have so little of firmness and so Easily Give way that they Are able to Resist the stroak of no Rays But the Least and weakest, and most Reflexible Rays. all the other Rays that Are bigger and therefore their force not so Easily Resisted overcome the Resistance of the Particles that stand in their way such bodies therefore appear blue as the atmosphere or skies, smoke &c—again tis known that the most Refrangible Rays are most easily attracted that is are most easily stay'd or diverted by attraction, for as has been already shown Refraction & Reflection from Concave surfaces is by attraction because therefore that the most Refrangible Rays are most Diverted by Refraction and Easiest Reflected inward from the surface, and most Diverted by Passing by the edges of bodies it follows that attraction has most influence on the most Refrangible Rays

Tis also evident that the Particles of bodies that are the most Dense have the strongest attraction. the Particles of any body therefore may be so dense and attract so strongly as to hold fast all the Lesser and more Refrangible Rays so that they shall none of them be Reflected but Only the Greater Rays, on Whom the attraction of these Particles Can have Less influence, hereby the body will become Red

and as for the intermediate Colours the Particles of a body may be so Dense as to hold all the most Refrangible Rays and may yet not be firm Enough to Resist the stroak of the Least Refrangible hereby the body may become Yellow or Green or of any other intermediate Colour

Or a body may be Colourd by the Reflection of a mixture of Rays the body Particles may be able to Reflect three or four sorts of Rays and have to strong an attraction to Reflect those Rays that are Less and too weak a Resistance to Reflect the Bigger Rays, or the Colour of A body may be Compounded of Reflected Rays of very Distant Degrees of Refrangibility and not Reflect any of the intermediate Colours by Reason of its being Compounded of very heterogeneous Particles [which] have a very Different Degree of Density and firmness. or the Particles of a body may be firm Enough to Reflect all sorts of Rays yet have so little attraction to hold them that the body will be White, or a body may be Compounded of Particles having so little Resistance as to Reflect no Rays, of so Great Density as to hold all or so full of Pores as to Drink in all, then the body is black

Or the Particles of bodies may have Pores and hollows that may be big enough to Let in the Least Rays not the Rest so that the Pores of Particles may have much to Do in the Causing of Colours

The blue of mountains at a Distance is not made by any Rays Reflected from the mountains but from the Air and vapours that is between us and them. the mountain occasions the blueness by intercepting all Rays that would Come from beyond to Disturb that Colour by their mixture

it may therefore seem a Difficulty Why the atmosphere all Round by the horison Dont appear very blue seeing tis Evident that the atmosphere Reflects Chiefly the blue Rays as Appears In the higher Parts of the atmosphere by the blueness of the skie and near the Earth by the blueness of mountains, and the Redness or Yellowness of the Rising and setting sun. it would therefore seem that the atmosphere should Appear most blue where no Rays are Intercepted by mountains because the atmosphere beyond the mountain Reflects blue Rays as well as on this Side. therefore it seems that there would be more blue Rays Come to Our eyes where none were Intercepted by mountains. And Consequently that the most lively blue would be there. and so it would be, if blue Rays Came to Our Eyes in the same Proportion as they are Reflected but most of those blue Rays that Are Reflected by those Parts of the Atmosphere that Are at a great Distance are intercepted by the intermediate Air before they Come to Our eyes (for the Air by supposition intercepts them Easiest) and only those few Yellow Rays and Less Reflexible Rays that Are Reflected by the Air Come to Our eyes whence it Comes to Pass that the Atmosphere near the horizon Dont appear blue but of a Whitish Yellow. And sometimes when it is filled with more Dense exhalations that Can Reflect Less Reflexible Rays still, it appears a little Reddish

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

By the recommendation of the Council, the Society, at the semi-annual meeting in April last, voted to amend the by-laws so as to make it the duty of the Treasurer to present his report annually, instead of semi-annually as had been the custom for many years.

This is the first report under the new by-law, and presents a statement of the receipts and expenditures for the year from October 1, 1894, to October 1, 1895.

During the year a new fund has been established, and by vote of the Council has been designated as the George E. Ellis Fund. The occasion for the establishment of this fund was the receipt by the Treasurer of the sum of $10,000, a legacy from our highly esteemed late Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, Rev. George E. Ellis, LL.D.

The disposition of the income of this fund, as provided by Dr. Ellis, was left to the approval of the Society on the recommendation of the Council. As the yearly income of the Librarian's and General Fund is far short of the amount that should properly be charged to it, the Treasurer would suggest that for the ensuing year the income derived from the George E. Ellis Fund be transferred to the Librarian's and General Fund.

It should be stated that the income added to the George E. Ellis Fund is for five months only, the funds having come into the hands of the Treasurer about the first of May, 1895.

It will be seen that an unusually large amount has been charged to the Salisbury Building Fund; this is caused by the expense of building the new stack for books in the lower hall, and the putting up of shelves in the room in the

third story for the storage of duplicate volumes and government documents not often called for.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 2, 1895, was $127,201.86. It is divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,	$38,334.33	
The Collection and Research Fund,	18,570.95	
The Bookbinding Fund,	5,980.72	
The Publishing Fund,	25,387.60	
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,	8,331.02	
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	4,042.95	
The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund,	1,110.31	
The Salisbury Building Fund,	4,403.18	
The Alden Fund,	1,025.02	
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00	
The Haven Fund,	1,149.87	
The George Chandler Fund,	529.50	
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	2,789.50	
The George E. Ellis Fund,	10,208.33	
Income Account,	222.64	
Premium Account,	115.94	
		$127,201.86

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is $2,727.71.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year, ending October 1, 1895, is as follows:

DR.

1894.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,	$10,996.46	
1895.	"	Income from investments to date,	5,702.91	
"	"	Received for annual assessments,	145.00	
"	"	Life membership,	50.00	
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	78.50	
"	"	Mortgage notes paid,	4,950.00	
"	"	Bank tax refunded,	370.05	
"	"	From the estate of Rev. George E. Ellis,	10,000.00	
				$32,292.92

CR.

Salaries to October 1, 1895,	$3,727.41	
Expense on account of publication,	1,040.34	
Books purchased,	153.91	
Binding,	272.55	
Incidental expenses, including heating,	646.26	
Insurance,	150.00	
Investments, Stocks, Bonds and Mortgage Notes,	19,971.39	
Premium and Interest on Stocks and Bonds bought,	2,421.36	
Repairs on building and cost of new book shelving,	1,181.99	
	$29,565.21	
Balance in cash October 2, 1895,	2,727.71	
		$32,292.92

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1894,		$39,091.68	
Income to October 1, 1895,		1,969.40	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,		275.00	
From Life membership,		50.00	
		$41,386.08	
Paid for salaries,	$2,593.28		
Incidental expenses, including heating,	458.47		
		$3,051.75	
1895, October 2. Amount of Fund,			$38,334.33

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,		$18,798.40	
Income to October 2, 1895,		1,032.81	
		$19,831.21	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,		1,260.26	
1895, October 2. Amount of Fund,			$18,570.95

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,		$5,994.06	
Income to October 2, 1895,		330.05	
		$6,324.11	
Paid for binding, etc.,	$272.55		
Paid for salaries,	70.84		
		$343.39	
1895, October 2. Amount of Fund,			$5,980.72

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,		$25,052.58	
Income to October 2, 1895,		1,383.52	
Publications sold,		58.50	
		$26,494.60	
Paid on account of publications,		1,107.00	
Balance October 2, 1895,			$25,387.60

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$7,930.16	
Income to October 2, 1895,	441.08	
	$8,371.24	
Paid for books,	40.22	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$8,331.02

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$3,829.48	
Income to October 2, 1895,	213.47	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$4,042.95

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$1,072.20	
Income to October 2, 1895,	59.26	
	$1,131.46	
Paid for books,	21.15	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$1,110.31

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$5,289.98	
Income to October 2, 1895,	295.19	
	$5,585.17	
Paid on account of repairs,	1,181.99	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$4,403.18

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	1,067.29	
Income to October 2, 1895,	61.89	
	$1,129.18	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	104.16	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$1,025.02

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$5,000.00	
Income to October 2, 1895,	275.00	
	$5,275.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	275.00	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$1,098.71	
Income to October 2, 1895,	59.96	
	$1,158.67	
Paid for books,	8.80	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$1,149.87

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$511.45	
Income to October 2, 1895,	48.55	
	$560.00	
Paid for books,	30.50	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$529.50

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1894,	$2,664.63	
Income to October 2, 1895,	148.11	
	$2,812.74	
Paid for books,	23.24	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$2,789.50

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Cash received April 29, 1895,	$10,000.00	
Income to October 2, 1895,	208.33	
Balance October 2, 1895,		$10,208.33
Total of the fourteen funds,		$126,863.28
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		222.64
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		115.94
October 2, 1895, total,		$127,201.86

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.		Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	$ 600.00	$ 870.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	3,300.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	405.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	426.25
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,584.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,	600.00	642.00
15	North National Bank, Boston,	1,500.00	1,590.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	316.50
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	3,360.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,244.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	2,211.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	4,588.00
	Total of Bank Stock,	$23,200.00	$28,776.75
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	$3,000.00	$4,650.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	825.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	2,031.25
50	Washburn & Moen Mfg. Co.,	6,500.00	6,500.00

BONDS.

Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,	3,000.00	3,100.00
Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	3,300.00	3,795.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	2,587.50
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	6,147.50	6,147.50
City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,	5,400.00	6,000.00
Wilkes-Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00
Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,	5,604.86	5,604.86
Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	52,200.00	52,200.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	371.79	371.79
Cash in National Bank on interest,	2,727.71	2,727.71
	$127,201.86	$136,317.36

WORCESTER, Mass., October 2, 1895.

Respectfully submitted.

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditor of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certifies that he has examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1895, and finds the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

October 19, 1895.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

It is clearly the duty of a Society like our own to keep constantly in mind the wise ingathering of material for present and future use. This well-filled storehouse of American history, as well as our many and varied publications since 1812, show a reasonable fulfilment of that duty. A wise and liberal founder, the creating of special funds, the increase of the library by wise exchanges, but above all, by the constant gifts of members and friends; these have all been means to the desired end.

The transfers to the new stack-room are as follows: From the north lobby below stairs, the *Annals of Congress*, *Congressional Debates*, *Congressional Globe* and *Congressional Record*, to which I have added—as of the same family—*Niles's Weekly Register* from the Salisbury annex. Space is thus secured in the north lobby below for the regular series of government publications, and the pressure in our periodical alcoves is somewhat relieved. These—with the more important government reprints—occupy the south half of the stack-room. The north half has been devoted to bound college material from alcove O and unbound from the northeast lobby above stairs; to town, city and county documents from the north lobby above; to State documents from alcove A and to the half alcove of directories from the Salisbury Annex. Room for books of a governmental character seldom used, has been provided by shelving the four walls of our attic hall—which is about forty-eight feet by twenty-six—where the shelves are carried up about seven feet from the floor. Ample space is also here found for unbound government documents, and all government

reprints will be removed to this upper hall as the stack may be needed for works of greater importance. Duplicate unbound newspapers previous to 1866 are still retained in the attic hall, while all of later date have been disposed of by direction of the Library Committee.

The following notes may supplement remarks made in my report of last October on the Society's Colonial furniture. And first regarding our Belcher secretary: The letter of gift from President Thomas L. Winthrop, which is dated Boston, October 9, 1836, says "Enclosed is the receipt of the agent of the Worcester Railroad cars for a cabinet desk which bears some strong marks of antiquity. I have been induced to purchase it hoping that it may prove useful in some department of the American Antiquarian Society's establishment. It was the property of Governor Belcher in the year 1730—then of Mr. Wheatley of this city, merchant—then of the late Rev. Dr. Lathrop, who married his daughter; afterwards of the late Rev. Mr. McKean, after whose decease it was bought at the sale of his library, etc., by the Rev. Dr. Harris, of whom I purchased it." The second reference is to our President's Fort Pynchon chair. A letter to Christopher C. Baldwin, Esq., librarian, dated Springfield, May 27, 1833, contains the following: "At a recent meeting of the Mechanic Association of this town, the undersigned were chosen a committee to 'cause two chairs to be built of the oak of the Pynchon House—one for the use of the Association and the other to be presented to the American Antiquarian Society.' This duty we have performed and now present the chair to your institution with our respects and best wishes. The wood of which the chair is manufactured, is from the house built by the Hon. John Pynchon—or, as he was then termed, the worshipful Major Pynchon—in 1660. The house was fortified in 1675, and was a place of refuge for the inhabitants when the town was nearly destroyed by the Indians in that year. The house has always been occupied by the

Pynchons from the time of its erection until taken down in 1831. The land on which it stood is now owned by a descendant of the worshipful Major Pynchon. The fact that the house was erected in 1660 is established by the account books of Major Pynchon now in the possession of a gentleman of this town. The little print on the top rave of the chair is said to be a correct representation of the Pynchon House. The fashion of the chair is nearly that of 1660. A. G. Tannatt, Horace Lee, Charles Stearns." In Mr. Mason A. Green's "Springfield Memories," published in 1876, he says of the Hampden Mechanics' Association: "The only existing and visible sign of this early institution, is the old oaken chair of dignity in which the President sat. It is now owned by the heirs of the late John C. Stebbins, 471 Central street. In April, 1832, Charles Stearns, A. G. Tannatt and Horace Lee were appointed a committee to make two chairs out of the timber of the old Pynchon House, which had been recently torn down. These were made alike, and are fine specimens of their mechanical taste and skill. The pattern is the then fashionable 'fiddle-back' chair with eagle's legs grasping spheres for supports . . . . One of the chairs was presented to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Christopher Columbus Baldwin, the librarian, sent graceful acknowledgments 'for so acceptable a memorial of the respect and veneration in which you hold the memory of the worshipful Major Pynchon, and for so fine a specimen of the mechanical taste and ingenuity of your valuable Association.'"

The ninth bound volume of the second series of our Proceedings is now ready for members and others who preserve them in this form. The binding is green cloth, gilt top, uncut at top and bottom, and the charge, seventy-five cents per volume — the numbers to be returned in good order. A complete set of the first series cannot now be supplied, but a limited number of the second series may be had at five dollars per volume. None of our publications

have been stereotyped except volume seven of the Transactions—Thomas Lechford's Note-Book, 1638–1641—and the editions have never exceeded seven hundred copies.

Our valuable collection of portraits has been referred to from time to time in the librarian's reports, and added light has been shed upon some of them. In the list of the Society's portraits mentioned by William Lincoln in his Council report of May 29, 1839, that of Doct. Isaiah Thomas is mentioned in connection with those of President Winthrop, and Librarian Baldwin, though he does not give the artist's name. The only earlier reference to a Thomas portrait is in the following letter:—

"BOSTON, *Sept. 28, 1833.*

"MR. C. C. BALDWIN,

"*Sir:*—Permit me to give to the American Antiquarian Society the picture of Mr. I. Thomas painted by the late Henry Williams, my husband, of Boston. Be pleased, dear Sir, to accept the same as a token of respect for the said Society.

C. C. WILLIAMS."

Mr. Thomas died April 4, 1831, two and a half years before the date of this letter of gift. The Greenwood portrait of our President hangs over the entrance to the main hall just above his bust by Kinney, but where is the Williams half-length referred to in the preceding letter? Pendleton's reproduction of the Greenwood faces the title-page of Volume One of the first edition of our founder's "History of Printing," while J. R. Smith's representation of Williams's Thomas, faces the title-page of the second volume. We have the copper-plates from which the Williams and the so-called masonic portraits were printed, and H. W. Smith's steel-plate of the Sarah Goodrich miniature. The latter was engraved for the new edition of the "History of Printing," as on the whole the best likeness of its author. It is probable that the portraits by Greenwood and Williams

are of about the same period. Both artists were for nearly ten years neighbors in Boston. Ethan Greenwood is recorded in the Boston Directory, 1816–1828, as "portrait painter, N. E. Museum, 75 Court Street," and Henry Williams, 1820–1830, as "portrait and miniature painter and anatomist, 6 School Street." The widow of Dr. Williams—Cecil C.—was of 14 School Street until 1836, when she is recorded as of 5 Pemberton Hill. Allen's "American Biographical Dictionary" says of Greenwood, "Died in Hubbardston, May 3, 1856, aged nearly 80. He was long a proprietor of the New England Museum in Boston and a painter"; and of Williams, "Died in Boston in October, 1830. He was an eminent miniature painter and he made admirable anatomical preparations."

During the six months ending the 15th instant, we have acknowledged gifts from thirty-three members, one hundred and twenty-two persons not members, and one hundred and thirty societies and institutions, a total of two hundred and eighty-five sources. We have received therefrom two hundred and fifty-nine books, fifty-five hundred and seven pamphlets, four bound and two hundred and twenty-three volumes of unbound newspapers, six bound volumes and a mass of unbound manuscripts, one hundred and sixty-one photographs, two medals, one seal and collections of postage-stamps, maps, lithographs, posters and broadsides. The exchange account is credited with forty books and sixty-two pamphlets, and the bindery with sixty-three volumes of newspapers and fifteen of magazines, making the total accessions three hundred and fourteen books, fifty-five hundred and sixty-nine pamphlets, sixty-seven volumes of bound and two hundred and twenty-three of unbound newspapers, etc.

Our associate, Mr. Andrew McF. Davis, in a note dated Cambridge, September 18, 1895, says: "By concurrent mail, I send to the American Antiquarian Society a letter from the surviving sons of John Davis requesting the Soci-

ety to furnish a resting-place for some papers which may in time have historic value. These papers I have mounted in four scrap-books and have addressed them to the Society. The letter of gift follows:

'To
'The American Antiquarian Society,
'Worcester, Mass.

'Your former President, John Davis, left at his decease in April, 1854, some papers which may in time have an historical value. His surviving sons send them herewith, asking that you will kindly give them a resting-place in the Archives of the Society.

'John Chandler Bancroft Davis,
'George H. Davis,
'by Gheradi Davis,
'Horace Davis,
'Andrew McF. Davis,
} Surviving Children of John Davis, deceased.

'May 31, 1895.'"

The volumes are bound in red morocco and backed in the upper space, in gold, "Letters and Papers—Hon. John Davis." The second space bears the number of the volume, and the third, the name of our Society. The letters, which include those of condolence addressed to Mrs. Davis, cover the period from 1824 to 1854, and are chiefly in volumes one and four. The miscellaneous papers by his own hand—to be found in volumes two and three—are speeches, reports, briefs, etc. A few selections from letters of his esteemed contemporaries will give an estimate of the character of our honored Ex-President:

George Bancroft writes, May 23, 1830:

"Your defence of the Tariff has won for you very high encomiums. Your system of annihilating an adversary by argument, and giving him at the same time no chance for anger or asperity, is worthy of a statesman."

Daniel Webster, September 30, 1833:

"It is not unlikely, Dear Sir, that you may be nominated for Governor of Massachusetts. If you should be, I see

nothing better on your part, than a resignation to the course of things. For one I should hardly vote for you, were I in the Convention, because I should feel so much unwillingness to draw you from another sphere."

Edward Everett, August 26, 1835:

"He has rare qualities for the public service. Distinguished talent, long experience in the National councils (where he attained popularity and influence rarely equalled and never surpassed), eminent usefulness to the Commonwealth as a member of Congress, singular equanimity of temper, simplicity of manners, purity and uprightness of character, unite to fit him in a peculiar degree, for the place of Chief Magistrate."

William H. Seward, January 14, 1841:

"No man can read your address without feeling a conviction that it is the language of a Magistrate to a people who understand and confide in him with all their hearts."

Rufus Choate, in June, 1841:

"I wish to the Lord you were here to tell us what to do. In the meantime, the noble old Bay State reposes happy under your administration"; again, July 25, 1841: "I wish you were here to steer between the worse than Scylla and Charybdis"; and again, February 10, 1842: "I recommend to you to give such a direction to the public service as to let me go home about the time you have an extra session for new districting the State and for the legislature to send you here."

Caleb Cushing, November 15, 1841:

"You cannot imagine how frequently I have regretted that you were not at Washington to *arbitrate* between the contending parties in Congress, and I have been half a dozen times inclined to call at Worcester, to ask for advice and direction, before I go South"; again, December 26, 1841: "And now I do not ask what *will* be done but what ought to be done. You cannot imagine how grateful I should be if I could receive your view of this plan."

Charles Hudson, December 22, 1841:

"What do you think of the President's plan? Is it safe to adopt it? Will it answer the purpose? Is it

obnoxious to all the objections which Mr. Duff urged against Jackson's plan or rather suggestion in 1830? I should be pleased to hear from you"; again, May 14, 1842: "I should be pleased to hear from you at all times, and to receive such suggestions from you as you may be pleased to make. I need much instruction to enable me to sustain the interest and honor of a district represented as No. 5 has been."

William C. Preston, March 19, 1842:

"The steady and honest policy of Massachusetts should teach us a lesson. Amongst the brightest instances of her sound sense, is her having John Davis at the head of her affairs during this crisis."

And finally, Robert C. Winthrop writes, March 31, 1842:

"You are talked of for the Vice Presidency." . . . . .

"I need not say how gratified I should be to have your views of matters and things from time to time."

From a letter dated Superior, Wis., August 29, 1895, conveying the gift of our venerable associate, Dr. James Davie Butler, I extract the following: "Enclosed please find a report of the third burial of Sergeant Floyd, on his Bluff [in Sioux City, Iowa,] last week. As the publication of his Journal by the American Antiquarian Society gave impulse and perhaps initiative to the Floyd Memorial Association, something of the report may be judged worthy of reprint in the Proceedings of the Society . . . . . Many declared it suicidal for me in my senescence to rush down from this receipt of coolness 438 miles into the seven times heated furnace. But assurance that I was laying the corner-stone of a noteworthy monument brought me out unscathed like Shadrach & Co.—when the smell of fire had not passed on them nor was a hair of their head singed. At all events, you must be glad to place the photo-facsimiles I have sent you, in your copy of Floyd's Journal. Had I known last year how easily such printing is done, I would have tried to have the whole fifty-three pages so reproduced. Thus the classic words *forma mentis æterna* would become

doubly significant." Prof. Butler's extended tribute to Floyd may be found in the *Sioux City Journal* of August 21, 1895, with the facsimiles. The proceedings should be published in full by the Memorial Association, which now has a corporate existence. It seems proper, however, that a few paragraphs relating to the discovery of the Journal should here find a place. Dr. Butler said: "We know that the Floyd narrative would never have been recognized but for its self-evidencing testimony—bearing witness to itself that this unique relic so long lost, so wide wandering, so ready to perish and so long sleeping soundly in its own sheets, accidentally caught the eye of Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, on the third of February, 1893. We know that this discovery was made known to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, the mother and model of all similar institutions in America. A request was made by that Society to James D. Butler, one of their members, that he would deliver an address on the new found treasure-trove at their next Boston meeting. On hearing the address, the American Antiquarian Society voted to print every word of the Floyd Journal *verbatim, literatim et punctuatim*. With all its faults they loved it still, and all the more for every one of them. It remains to this day the only narrative of the grand journey that has been printed as it was written by its author." The stone slab over the grave bears the inscription:

SERGEANT CHARLES FLOYD

Died August 20, 1804

Reinterred May 28, 1857

Memorial Services August 20, 1895

Our associate, Rev. George Sturgis Paine, has recently

given us his valuable collection of Paine and Sturgis manuscripts, to which he has added a large ingathering of photographs of the Paine and allied families.

We have received from Deputy Surgeon-General John S. Billings, Volume XVI. of his Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A. This ends the first series of what *The Nation* justly calls "the most stupendous catalogue ever achieved in this country." A second series of this author and subject catalogue will be put to press directly. It is a pleasant reflection that our duplicate-room was heavily drawn upon—in the way of exchange—for the upbuilding of this famous, special collection.

Mr. Isaac D. White, Jr. has sent us from his private collection, framed portraits with autographs, of James G. Blaine, Benjamin Harrison, Robert E. Lee and John Randolph.

The gifts of Elijah George, Register of Probate for Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and of Franklin P. Rice, Editor of "Worcester, Massachusetts, Births, Marriages and Deaths," suggest works of reference which may justly be called invaluable for a library of our class. One is an "Index to the Probate Records of the County of Suffolk, Mass., 1636–1893"; and the other "Worcester Births, Part 1, 1714–1848." Miss Clara Barton, President of the American National Red Cross, has, at our request, and for a special purpose, gathered and sent to us a collection of printed material relating to the history of the beneficent work over which she so wisely presides. Changes in the office of our printer, Mr. Charles Hamilton, have resulted in a very large gift therefrom, especially in pamphlet literature. We gratefully acknowledge the publications of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in Massachusetts, the Society of Colonial Wars and kindred societies, at the same time entering an earnest plea for all such material issued by the many patriotic societies of our land. While

their funds have been freely used in erecting memorials of stone and bronze, the careful distribution of the printed page, not only to members, but more especially to historical societies, should not be forgotten.

I note the recent death of Mr. James Constantine Pilling, a faithful servant of the United States Bureau of Enthnology, whose studies in Indian linguistics led him frequently to our library. The Indian bibliographies, so patiently prepared during years of intense physical suffering, are fitting monuments to his zeal and courage.

Sixty years ago to-day — viz., October 23, 1835,— William Lincoln delivered an address before the Society "in the Unitarian Meeting-house, Worcester, in relation to the character and services of their late Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin, Esq.," who was killed instantly near Norwich, Ohio, August 20, 1835. Mr. Baldwin filled the office of librarian with singular enthusiasm and devotion from 1827 to 1830, and again from 1831 until his death. Evidences of the true and laudable service he rendered are to be found on every hand in the library which was so nobly enriched under his administration. Not only his marked personality but his definite views of our mission will best appear in extracts from copies of a few of his letters now in our possession. He wrote to Gales and Seaton, April 13, 1832: "The American Antiquarian Society was established for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything which may be helpful in illustrating American history. It is not sectional in its plans, or even National, but Continental." To James Swords, May 3, 1832: "But the objects of the American Antiquarian Society extend to the whole American Continent. There is nothing local or limited about it." In a letter dated September 17, 1832, and addressed to Daniel Parker, is the following couplet:

> "Said old Time to Cotton Mather,
> What I throw away, you gather."

To James Bowdoin, September 29, 1832: "I believe,

however, that in ten years, life and health permitting, I can make the collection here so valuable that future antiquaries will have occasion to toast my ingenuity, if nothing more." To Frederick Augustus Farley, April 19, 1833: "The musty folios you spoke of may be of small value to an individual, but in a public library I am sure there would be some one to caress them." And this is signed "A Bachelor Librarian." To John Farmer, June 4, 1833: "You enquire about New England school-books of a former day. The subject has often engaged my attention. I have regarded it as worthy of enquiry. I have never permitted an old school-book to be lost. We have a goodly number in our collection but they are not yet put by themselves." To William S. Emerson, June 12, 1833: "Mystery is our life and it is for this reason that we want newspapers, which you know contain such abundance of contradictory matter that they are misunderstood when first read. What interesting comparison must they afford when a century old! Any side of a question may be proved or disproved by a modern newspaper. But still they must be preserved and the institution with which I am connected, among other objects, has this in view." To Peter Force, December 27, 1833: "Do but think of the first seven volumes of the *National Intelligencer* being sold to a gold-beater! This is as great a profanation as happened lately in New Hampshire, where the selectmen of the town sold the monuments in an ancient burial-ground to be split up into whetstones." . . . . . "I propose to prepare a new edition of Thomas's History of Printing." To John Farmer, January 3, 1834: "Although I am the modestest man in all christendom in matters not connected with my profession; and therein I have a sort of impudence that would face an earthquake." To William Bentley Fowle, June 20, 1834: "Some philosopher has said that his unhappiest moments were those spent in settling his tavern bills. But the happiest moments of my life are those employed in opening

packages of books presented to the American Antiquarian Society. It gives me real, substantial and unadulterated comfort. It is then, like glorious Tam O' Shanter, I am—

'O'er a' the ills of life victorious.' "

We are fortunate indeed in the ownership of these pen-pictures of an early librarian and benefactor of the Society, drawn by his own hand. His three-quarters length portrait by Chester Harding hangs in the main hall alongside that of President Thomas L. Winthrop, under whom he served his second term, and during whose administration his useful life on earth was ended.

The increasing use of the library during the summer months is especially gratifying, as it indicates increasing usefulness during a trying season of the year. About the year 1840, there might have been found posted on the library door on Summer Street, the following notice: "The hour for receiving visitors is in the forenoon from eleven o'clock to twelve. If strangers are desirous of admission at other hours a line of introduction to the Librarian is expected." Five years later, we find that "By a rule adopted October 23, 1845, an introduction from some member of the Society is required for admission."

The first Report of the Librarian in the new series of our Proceedings—read October 21, 1880—was happily from the pen of Samuel Foster Haven. In the body of that brief report, which proved to be his last, are the following wise conclusions: "Our library is passing pretty rapidly from the simply conservative condition common to associations formed for literary and scientific objects, and more or less private and exclusive in their character, to the public position of a free resort for special studies and classes of technical information, that are daily becoming more popular, pervading as they do many of the most interesting subjects of investigation now largely engaging public attention. A broader and more liberal scale of management, demanding larger expenditures and constantly larger

means, must be expected to follow an expansion of public service. There is no help for this if the institution is true to its purpose and always ready to meet the demands likely to be made upon it."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester,—"Worcester's Young Men"; and "St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation; and twelve pamphlets.

BARTON, WILLIAM SUMNER, Worcester.—Brown University Catalogue, 1893-94.

BRINTON, DAVID G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Protohistoric Ethnography of Western Asia."

BUTLER, CALEB D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Address on the Third Burial of Sergeant Charles Floyd"; and newspaper articles from his pen.

CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—One book; and fourteen pamphlets.

DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; seventy-three pamphlets; and one framed photograph.

DAVIS, Hon. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—His address on "The Meaning of the University."

DAVIS, JOHN, SURVIVING CHILDREN OF.—"Letters and Papers—Hon. John Davis," in four volumes.

FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—Three books.

GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, 1895.

GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., New York.—His Eleventh Annual Report on the State Reservation at Niagara; and his "Trustees of Scenic and Historic Places and Objects Memorial to the Legislature of New York."

GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Five of his own publications; thirty-four books; three hundred and twenty-nine pamphlets; four lithographs; two broadsides; one map; one souvenir button; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.

GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His "Remarks at the Dedication of the Haston Free Public Library Building, North Brookfield, Mass., September 20, 1894"; and his Report of 1895 as Librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library.

GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—His "Project for a Worcester University"; and four manuscripts relating to the history of Worcester and North Brookfield.

GUILD, REUBEN A., LL.D., Providence, R. I.—His "John Whipple Potter Jenks: Memorial Address."

HARDEN, WILLIAM, Savannah, Ga.—His "Captain Maxwell, a resident of Belfast, Georgia."

HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., *Editor*, Hartford, Conn.—Public Records of the State of Connecticut, 1778–1780, Vol. 2; and one proclamation.

HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His "Identity of Junius"; seventeen books; three hundred and eighty-four pamphlets; eight files of newspapers, in continuation; and two engravings.

JONES, JOSEPH, LL.D., New Orleans, La.—His "Original Investigations of the Natural History (Symptoms and Pathology) of Yellow Fever, 1854–1894"; and one pamphlet.

LOVE, Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS, Jr., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "Memorial of Samuel Whitney Hale"; and a proclamation.

PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Five packages of Paine and Sturgis manuscripts; three boxes and one package of photographs of the Paine and allied families; two of Samuel Paine's Account-Books; three diplomas; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Seven books; one hundred and eighty-five pamphlets; sixteen lithographs; three photographs; four manuscripts; five files of newspapers, in continuation; and a collection of posters and broadsides.

PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

PERRY, Hon. AMOS, Providence, R. I.—Two of his historical brochures.

PERRY, Rt. Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His "Four Centuries of Conflict for the Continent of North America, 1497–1897"; and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.

PIERCE, Hon. EDWARD L., Milton.—"The Diary of John Rowe, a Boston Merchant, 1764–1779," edited by Mr. Pierce.

ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—"Early Records of the Town of Providence," Vol. VIII.

SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Sixty books; three hundred and five pamphlets; ten files of newspapers, in continuation; and a collection of programmes.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "Short Account of the Arlington Street Church."

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—Various Tributes to J. Fletcher Williams, S. B.

WHITNEY, JAMES L., Concord.—The Marsh Genealogy; and the Wills of John and Grace (Baldwin) Marsh.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Three of his historical brochures.

WRIGHT, Hon. CARROLL D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—Seventeen reports of the Commissioner of Labor.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ARMINGTON, WALKER, Worcester.—One lithograph.

BAILEY, ISAAC H., New York.—The "Shoe and Leather Reporter," as issued; and the "Annual" for 1895.

BALCH, EDWIN S., Philadelphia, Pa.—"The French in America," by Thomas Balch, Volumes 1 and 2.

BARBER, Miss RUTH E., Worcester.—Holy Bible, 4to., Brattleborough, 1816, with Barber Family Record.

BARTON, Miss CLARA, *President*, Washington, D. C.—Collection of printed material relating to "The American National Red Cross."

BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—The "Association Record," in continuation.

BATCHELDER, FRANK R., Worcester.—His Photograph of the Seward-Blaine House, Washington, D. C.

BENT, SAMUEL A., Boston.—His "Why was Louisburg Twice Beseiged."

BOSWORTH, HYDE AND HYDE, New York.—Numbers of their "Colonial Magazine."

BOWES, JAMES L., London, G. B.—His "Shippo, a sequel to Japanese Enamels."

BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—His "Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor of Worcester."

BROWNE, FRANCIS F., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—"The Dial," as issued.

BULLARD, Rev. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—His "Address at the Opening of the New Westminster Church, St. Joseph, Mo."

BURCHELL, JOHN E., Sydney, C. B.—"The Louisbourg Monument, a Souvenir Number of the Sydney Advocate."

BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Two books; thirty-eight pamphlets; one framed photograph; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

BUTTRICK, JAMES G., Lowell.—The Semi-Centennial Volume of the Eliot Church, Lowell, Mass., containing Mr. Buttrick's address.

CARSON-HARPER COMPANY, Denver, Colo.—Numbers of their "Book-Leaf."

CHURCH STANDARD COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of "The Church Standard."

CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., Hubbardston.—"Woman's Journal"; and "The Voice," both in continuation.

COLE, GEORGE W., Jersey City, N. J.—His "American Libraries, their Past, Present and Future."

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.

CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—His "Catholic School and Home Magazine," as issued.

CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "Turnpikes and Travel."

CURRY, SAMUEL S., *Editor*, Boston.—Numbers of his "Expression."

CUSHING, THOMAS, Boston.—His "Historical Sketch of Chauncy-Hall School, with Catalogue of Teachers and Pupils, 1828–1894."

DAVIS, CHARLES H., Worcester.—One hundred and five pamphlets; and six photographs.

DAWBORN AND WARD, London, G. B.—Numbers of their "Photogram."

DECOSTA, Rev. BENJAMIN F., D.D., New York.—His "The Pilgrim of Old France and Other Poems."

DENNY, HENRY G., Boston.—"History of the Boston Library Society."

DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—Mekeel's Universal Postage-Stamp Album; and a collection of foreign stamps.

DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Their "Bookman," as issued.

DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His report of 1894–95.

DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—His "Messenger," as issued.

DRURY, FRANK H., Wilmette, Ill.—Three broadsides.

DUNN, Mrs. ROBINSON P., Worcester.—One pamphlet; and numbers of early newspapers.

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Report of 1894 as President of Yale University.

ESTABROOK, GEORGE H., Worcester.—Thirteen pamphlets.

ESTES, Rev. DAVID F., D.D., Hamilton, N. Y.—"Plea for the Baptist Historical Collection at Colgate University."

FOSTER, Rev. JOHN McG., Bangor, Me.—His "Two Bangors."

FULLER, HOMER T., Ph.D., Springfield, Mo.—His Inauguration Address as President of Drury College.

GAZETTE COMPANY.—Worcester Daily and Weekly Gazette, as issued.

GEORGE, ELIJAH, *Register*, Boston.—"Index to the Probate Records of the County of Suffolk, Mass., 1636–1893," in three volumes, folio, compiled by Mr. George.

GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Golden Rule," as issued.

GOULDING, Mrs. FREDERICK, Worcester.—One hundred and fifty-six numbers of "Harper's Monthly Magazine."

HAMILTON, CHARLES, Worcester.—Thirty-one books; fourteen hundred and one pamphlets; one heliotype; and a collection of newspapers.

HARRIMAN, Rev. FREDERICK W., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—"Journal of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Connecticut, 1895."

HART, CHARLES H., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Catalogue of the engraved work of Asher B. Durand."

HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His "Confiscated Estates of Boston Loyalists."

HATHAWAY, SAMUEL, Enfield, Conn.—His "Souvenir of the 55th Anniversary of the Worcester City Guards, September 19, 1895"; and his "City Landmarks, Memories of Brinley Hall and Lincoln House, Worcester, Mass."

HILDEBRAND, HANS, Stockholm, Sweden.—One pamphlet.

HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Four pamphlets; twelve wood cuts; three early bank bills; and one cheque.

HITCHCOCK, Mrs. EDWARD, Sr., Amherst.—Her "Genealogy of the Hitchcock Family."

HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Contribution to the Mineralogy of Wisconsin."

HODGES, FREDERICK W., Ph.D., Worcester.—His "Early Navajo and Apache."

HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—"The Daughters of the Revolution."

HUNT, OLIVER D., Amherst.—"One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the First Church in Amherst, Mass., 1739-1889."

INDEPENDENT NEWS COMPANY, London, G. B.—Numbers of the "Windsor Magazine."

JONES, CHARLES E., Augusta, Ga.—"Annual Report of Confederate Survivors Association of Augusta, Ga."

JONES, Rev. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—Numbers of the "Parish Guest."

KNAPP, FREDERICK B., Duxbury.—One pamphlet.

LANGDON, PALMER H., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of his "Aluminum."

LAWTON, Mrs. SARAH REED., Worcester.—"Murray's English Reader," 8vo. Hallowell, 1818.

LEA, J. HENRY, Fairhaven.—His "Lee of Pocklington."

LEE, FRANCIS H., Salem.—"Salem in Olden Times."

MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their "Book Reviews," as issued.

METHUEN AND COMPANY, London, G. B.—One pamphlet.

MONTAGUE, GEORGE W., Amherst.—"History and Genealogy of Peter Montague," etc.

MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—Newspapers containing articles by him; and twenty-seven pamphlets, including a set of the Boston and Albany Railroad reports.

NEALLEY, EDWARD B., Bangor, Me.—His Thomaston, Me., Centennial Oration, July 4, 1877.

NEEDHAM, Mrs. DANIEL, Groton.—"In Memoriam of Daniel Needham, of Groton, Mass."

NEWTON, WALTER T., Shrewsbury.—The "Engineering Record" for 1894–95; and collection of U. S. Weather Bureau Maps, 1894–95.

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Their "Open Court," as issued.

ORCUTT, CHARLES R., Orcutt, Cal.—Numbers of his "West American Scientist."

PIERCE, CHARLES F., Worcester.—Forty-four pamphlets.

PRICHARD, GEORGE, Worcester.—Nine books; and fifty-two pamphlets.

PUTNAM, EBEN, Salem.—His "Putnam Leaflets," No. 1.

PUTNAM AND SPRAGUE COMPANY, Worcester.—One lithograph.

REED, Mrs. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Five hundred and three numbers of magazines relating to missions.

RICE, FRANKLIN P., *Editor*, Worcester.—His "Worcester Births, Marriages and Deaths. Part 1, Births."

RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—The "Portland Board of Trade Journal," as issued.

RIDER, PHINEAS L., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

RIDER, SIDNEY S., Providence, R. I.—His "Book Notes," as issued.

RIORDAN, JOHN J., Worcester.—Two pamphlets and various circulars, relating to Worcester Evening Schools.

ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Six pamphlets.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," in continuation.

ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—His "Barre Gazette," as issued.

ROPES, ARTHUR, *Editor*, Montpelier, Vt.—The "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

SALEM GAZETTE COMPANY.—Their Daily Gazette, as issued.

SANFORD, JAMES B., Peabody.—His "Peabody Advertiser," as issued.

SEAGRAVE, DANIEL, Worcester.—"History, Biographical Sketches of Pastors, Confessions of Faith, etc., of the First Universalist Church, Worcester."

SEDELMEYER, CHARLES, Paris, France.—Illustrated Catalogue of the Paintings in his Gallery.

SENTINEL PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.

SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Three pamphlets.

SLEEPER, Rev. WILLIAM T., Worcester.—Manual of Greendale People's Church of Worcester, Mass., 1895.

SMITH, Rev. W. B. T., Charlestown, N. H.—His "Obituary Notice of George Olcott."

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Worcester Daily and Weekly Spy as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Two of his poems.

STEAD, WILLIAM T., London, G. B.—Index of "Review of Reviews," March, 1895.

STEVENS, BENJAMIN F., London, G. B.—His "Silver Punch Bowl made by Paul Revere."

STONE, FREDERICK D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Battle of Brandywine."

SUN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Worcester.—"Worcester Weekly Sun," as issued.

TATMAN, CHARLES T., Worcester.—His "Beginnings of United States Coinage."

TELEGRAM PUBLISHING COMPANY, Worcester.—Four bound volumes of the Daily and Sunday Telegram, in continuation.

TOOKER, WILLIAM M., Sag Harbor, N. Y.—His "Discovery of Chaunis Temoatam."

TRUMBLE, ALFRED, *Editor*.—His "Collector," as issued.

TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.

VERDAGUER, A., Barcelona, Spain.—His "America a Name of Native Origin."

VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

WALL, Miss SARAH E., Washington, D. C.—Numbers of the "National Anti-Slavery Standard."

WATKINS, WALTER K., Boston.—His "Col. William Vaughan of Louisbourg Fame."

WEBB, Gen. W. SEWARD, New York.—"Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blackley Webb," Vol. III.

WERNER COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Their "Self Culture," as issued.

WHEELER, JOHN W., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

WHITCOMB, G. HENRY, Worcester.—Two books; and one hundred and twenty-two pamphlets.

WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—The "Missionary Magazine," in continuation.

WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.

WHITE, ISAAC D., Jr., Worcester.—Framed photographs of John Randolph, Benjamin Harrison, Robert T. Lee and James G. Blaine, with their autographs.

WHITMAN EPHRAIM, Worcester.—Sixty-four volumes of Agricultural and kindred periodicals.

WINTHROP, ROBERT C., Boston.—Bronze medal of Gilbert Stuart; and Seal of the Scots Charitable Society.

WISHARD, GEORGE W., Lebanon, Ohio.—His "Language," Vol. I., Nos. 1–3.

YALE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Yale Review," as issued.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Proceedings of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Transactions of the Academy, as issued.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The "Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Records of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, as issued.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Their publications, as issued.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—Their "Sailor's Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Their "Citizen," as issued.

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—"Necrology, 1894–95."

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The "Statement of Mortality," as issued.

BOSTON, CITY OF.—Six volumes of city documents, 1895; and Twenty-fifth report of the Record Commissioners.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library publications, as issued.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE LIBRARY.—"Bibliographical Contributions," No. 4.

BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—Publication No. 1.

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1895; and the Library Bulletin, as issued.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—The Thirty-seventh Annual Report; and the Library Bulletin, as issued.

BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—"Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764–1894."

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Annual Report for 1894.

BUFFALO LIBRARY.—The Fifty-ninth Annual Report.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings at the annual meeting, June 18, 1894.

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-third Annual Report.

CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF SPRINGFIELD.—Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Association.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF CHICAGO.—One pamphlet.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.

CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, Vol. III.; and Annual Report, 1895.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—Numbers of the "Library Bulletin."

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Dedham Historical Register," as issued.

ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM, Chicago, Ill.—"Reproductions of the Authentic Letters of Columbus."

FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—City Document of 1894.

FITCHBURG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, Vol. I.

GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.—Annual Report, 1892–93.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The "Hartford Seminary Record," as issued.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—"Bibliographical Contributions," as issued.

HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

HIGHLAND MILITARY ACADEMY, Worcester.—The Register for 1894–95.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," as issued.

HOWARD MEMORIAL LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Four pamphlets.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society's "Historical Record," as issued.

ILLINOIS SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.—"Misuse of the National Flag of the United States of America."

INSTITUTO MEDICO NACIONAL, Mexico, Mex.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.

INTERNATIONAL Y. M. C. A. OF NORTH AMERICA.—Proceedings of the 31st International Convention.

IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Iowa Historical Record," as issued.

JERSEY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The "Library Record," as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LELAND STANFORD UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LENOX LIBRARY.—The Twenty-fifth Annual Report.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.

LIBRARY OF THE SURGEON-GENERAL'S OFFICE, U. S. A.—Index Catalogue, Vol. XVI.; and "Alphabetical List of Abbreviations of Titles of Medical Periodicals."

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Collections and Proceedings" of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF HEALTH.—"Weekly Returns of Mortality," as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Five State documents.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, TRUSTEES OF.—The Eighty-first Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. 9.

MASSACHUSETTS LIBRARY CLUB.—One pamphlet.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL AT WORCESTER.—The Catalogue and Circular, 1895.

MINNESOTA STATE WEATHER BUREAU.—One pamphlet.

MUSEO DE LA PLATA.—"Revista del Museo de La Plata," Tomo V. and VI., Pt. 1.

NATIONAL BOARD OF TRADE.—Proceedings of the twenty-fifth Annual Meeting.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—"Memorial Sketch of Dr. William Frederick Poole"; and Report of the Board of Trustees, 1882–1894.

NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—The "Register," as issued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE LIBRARY.—The Report of 1894.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Transactions of the Academy, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Charter and By-Laws, 1895.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.

OXFORD, MASS., TOWN OF.—The Annual Reports of 1895.

PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.—The Twenty-eighth Annual Report.

PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.—The Sixty-third Annual Report.

PORTLAND (OREGON) LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Annual Report for 1894; and the "Library Bulletin," as issued.

PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—One book.

QUABOAG HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"An Address on the Early History of Old Brookfield, Mass., June 5, 1895."

QUINCY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"An Account of the Formation of the Society in 1893."

RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—Their "Herald," as issued.

REYNOLDS LIBRARY, Rochester, N. Y.—"List of Books in the Reading Room, 1895."

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Journal of the Society, as issued.

ST. JOSEPH FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fifth Annual Report.

ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report for 1894.

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ D' ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—"Annales de la Société," as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—"Bulletin de la Société," as issued.

SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—The Twenty-sixth Annual Reunion, 1895.

SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.—The "Diary of Isaac Knapp of Newton"; and the Louisbourg Medal of 1895.

SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.—The Register of 1895.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Proceedings of the Forty-second Annual Meeting; and five pamphlets.

TENNESSEE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Their "Bulletin," as issued.

TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY.—Their "Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—"Catalogue of the A. L. A. Library shown at World's Columbian Exposition."

UNITED STATES CHIEF OF ENGINEERS.—"Index to his Reports, Vol. III., 1888–1892."

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—Eleven reports of the Commission.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—One report.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Fifty-five government documents; and eleven maps.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF PRINTING.—Eleven volumes of public documents.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Consular Reports, as issued; and Lists of Additions to the Department Library.

UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Monographs and Bulletins of the Survey, as issued.

UNITED STATES LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—Annual Report, 1894.

UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS.—Five government documents.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—Two department documents.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Annual Reports of the Chief of Engineers, 1894, in 6 vols.; and the "Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies," as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA.—University publications, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.—"The University of Vermont Obituary Record."

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," as issued.

W P I, EDITORS OF.—"W P I," as issued.

WEDNESDAY CLUB, Worcester.—"The Kalendar for Lent, All Saints' Church, Worcester, Mass., 1895."

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—Numbers of the "University Bulletin."

WILMINGTON INSTITUTE.—Reports of the Institute, 1894 and 1895.

WISCONSIN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS AND LETTERS.—Transactions of the Academy, Vol. X., 1894–95.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Annual Report, 1894, and "Mortality Reports," as issued.

WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL.—The Twenty-fourth Annual Report.

WORCESTER CLUB.—Four pamphlets; and ten files of newspapers.

WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—"Boston Daily Advertiser" for 1894, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—"Congressional Globe," Vols. 10-27; and twenty-five files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Nine books; three hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; and seventy-eight files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Four files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—"Worcester Births, Marriages and Deaths. Part I., Births."

WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION.—Their "Proceedings," 1895.

YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—"Association Bulletin," Vol. I., No. 1.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.—The "Year Book" for 1895.

A LIST OF EARLY AMERICAN IMPRINTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

1640–1700.

PREPARED BY NATHANIEL PAINE.

1640.

The | Whole | Booke of Psalmes | Faithfully | Translated into English | Metre. | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de- | claring not only the lawfullnes, but also | the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance | of singing Scripture Psalmes in | the Churches of | God. |

Coll. III. | Let the word of God dwell plenteously in | you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhort- | ing one another in Psalmes, Himnes, and | spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with | grace in your hearts. | James v. | If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if | any be merry, let him sing psalmes. | Imprinted | 1640. 4to. pp. (2), (13), (278).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, wanting, but supplied in fac-simile, *verso* blank. "The Preface." pp. (13) blank page. "The Psalmes." pp. (278). The volume has catchwords and signatures but is not paged. At top of first page of preface, in handwriting of Dr. Thomas, "This is a copy of the first Book printed in British America. It was printed at Cambridge, N. E., 1639." In a different handwriting, "It was not completed at press till 1640." Last page after "Finis" is "An Admonition to the Reader." 17 lines. Last page of last signature, containing "a list of faults escaped in printing," is also wanting. In parchment binding, with book-plate of Isaiah Thomas on inside of cover. On fly-leaf at the end the following MS.: "After advertising for another copy of this book, and making enquiry

in many places in New-England & I was not able to hear of another. This copy is therefore invaluable, and must be preserved with the greatest care. It is in the original binding.

Sept. 28, 1820. I. T[HOMAS]."

Since Dr. Thomas made this memorandum, now seventy-five years ago, other copies of The Bay Psalm Book (supposed to be the first book printed in British America) have come to light. But after so many years have passed, less than a dozen copies are known to be in existence. Our associate, Wilberforce Eames, Librarian of the Lenox Library, N. Y., who has made the bibliography of The Bay Psalm Book a special study, has kindly furnished the writer with the following list of copies known to him:

1. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Eng.
2. The Lenox Library copy, in fine condition.
3. The John Carter Brown copy, originally Richard Mather's, afterwards in the Prince Library. Sold in 1876 at Dr. Shurtleff's sale to C. Fiske Harris for $1,025.
4. The Cornelius Vanderbilt copy, also from the Prince Library, bought at sale of the Brinley Library in 1879 for $1,200.
5. The George Livermore copy, one of the five copies in the Prince Library, now owned in Brooklyn. Sold in November, 1894, for $425.
6. The American Antiquarian Society copy, described above.

7 and 8. In the Prince collection of the Boston Public Library, both slightly imperfect.

9. The Harvard College copy, also imperfect.
10. A copy owned by Bishop John F. Hurst of Washington, D. C. Imperfect.

Of these ten copies only the first four are complete.

There is another copy in the library, without date: "The | Psalms, | Hymns, | and | Spiritual Songs | of the | Old and New Testament, | Faithfully Translated into | English Metre. | For the use, edification, and comfort of the | Saints in publick and private, espe- | cially in New-England. | II. Tim. iii. 16, 17. | Col. iii. 16 [four lines.] | Ephes. v. 18, 19. Be filled with, &c | James v. 13 | [ornamental type.] ‖ Cambridge, | Printed for Hezekiah

Usher, of Boston," n. d. On fly-leaf in MS.: "I suppose this was printed in 1665, and in this form to bind up with small Bibles printed in England for New England I Thomas'—N. B. This copy was originally bound up with a bible printed in England, from which I took it."

1649.

A | Platform of | Church Discipline | Gathered out of the Word of God: | And agreed upon by the Elders: | And Messengers of the Churches | Assembled in the Synod at Cambridge | in New-England. | To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court | for their consideration and acceptance, | in the Lord. | The Eighth Moneth, Anno 1649. | [One line from Psal. lxxxiv. 1; two lines from Psal. xxvi. 8; four lines from Psal. xxvii. 4.] ‖ Printed by S. G. at Cambridge in New-England, | and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston | Anno Dom: 1649. Sm. 4to. pp. (12), 29, (2).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 10 pp. "The Preface"; 1–29, text; 1 p. blank; 1 p. "Table of Contents of the Chapters | in this Platform of Church Discipline." | Errata. "The faults escaped in some of the bookes thus amended." 1 p. blank.

This is the first edition, and has the autograph of I. Mather on the title-page. The Cambridge edition of 1671 (for full title see Dr. Green's list) is also in the library, but without the title-page. Other editions in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society are the N. Y. edition of 1711, printed by William and Andrew Bradford (one of the very few volumes that have the imprint of both William and Andrew Bradford), Boston editions of 1680, 1731, 1749, 1757 and 1772, also the London edition of 1653. Thomas says this is one of the first books from the press of Green.

1656.

MDCLVI. | An | Almanack | For the Year of | Our Lord | 1656. | Being first after Leap-year, and | from the Creation 5588. | Whose vulgar notes are, | Golden Number: 4. Cycle

of the Sun. 13. Roman Indict. 9. The Epact. 14. | Dominicall letter E. | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | gr: and 42 gr: 30 min: of N. Lat: | and may Generally serve for | the most part of | New England. | By T. S. Philomathemat: ‖ Cambridg | Printed by Samuel Green. 1656. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses, and "The use of the Almanack. MDCLVI. A Brief Explication of the Most Observable Circles in the Heavens. 2 pp. 12 pp. March to February. Eight lines of poetry at the foot of each page. MS. on title-page: "Belonging to Rev Mr [Josiah] Flynt Ano 1756—who was then minister of Dorchester, New England, A. D. 1756."

1657.

An | Almanack | For the Year of | Our Lord | 1657. | Being the Second after Leap-year. | The Vulgar Notes whereof are, | Golden number 5. | Cycle of the Sun 14. | The Epact. 25. | Dominicall Letter D. | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | gr: and 42 gr: 30 min: of N. Lat: | and may Generally serve for | the most part of | New-England. | By S. B. Philomathemat: ‖ Cambridg. | Printed by Samuel Green 1657. 16mo. pp. (8).

Title-page surrounded by a border representing full moon and the moon in different quarters. *Verso*, "Aspice venturo latentur ut omnia Seclo." 6 verses of poetry. Six pages have at bottom the changes of the moon, and one page for month of February has in addition four lines of poetry. Calendar for six months missing.

A | Farewell Exhortation | To the Church and People | of Dorchester In | New-England, | But | not unusefull to any others, that shall heedfully Read | and Improve the same, | as | Containing Christian and serious Incitements, and | persuasions to the Study and Practice of Seven principal | Dutyes of great Importance for the Glory of God, and the | Salvation of the Soul, and therefore needfull to be Seriously

| considered of all in these declining times, | By Richard Mather Teacher to the | Church above mentioned, | [Two lines from II. Pet. i. 15 and three lines from Phil. ii. 12.] ‖ Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in | New-England 1657. Sm. 4to. pp. (4), 27.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "The Preface to the Reader"; 1–27, "To the Church and Inhabitants of Dorchester, etc."

The Society's copy lacks the title-page, two pages of preface and pages 26 and 27. The above title is from the copy in the John A. Lewis Collection in the Boston Public Library. On a fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume is the following, in the handwriting of Rev. Dr. Wm. Bentley:

"When Mr. Flint settled in Dorcester [*sic*] Gov. S. went into public life 1671 as a Magistrate, preached from 1659 to 1671. In 1676 as Agent in England, returned 1679, refused another app. in 1680–1. Was Chief Justice. at Boston, addressed Sr Edm Andros upon the surrender of the Government, was on the Council with Bradstreet and Dudley, and L. G. from New Charter till his Decease. In 1694 S^r W Phipps returned and Stoughton Comm in Chief. Earl Bellamont came in May, 1698, and being Gov. of N. Y., Mass. and N. H., he left Stoughton Commr in Chief in Mass. till his death.

"This exhortation is noticed by Thomas in his History of Printing, Vol. I., p. 254, W., 1810, as among the books printed by S. Green, 1657. Mather's (Richard) Farewell Exhortation to the Church and people at Dorchester in New-England. Printed at Cambridge. 4to. 28 pages.

"Mr. Harris in his account of Dorchester, Hist. Coll., V. IX., p. 175, informs that Gov. Stoughton never accepted the office of teacher, but gave his occasional assistance in preaching for some years and received compensation after 1651. Mr. Mather died in 1669 and Mr. Flint was ordained 1671. Gov. Stoughton went into the chair as L. Gov. with Sr W. Phipps 1692, and continued with Richard, Earl of Bellamont, till 1701. Was Harris well informed of the time that Gov. Stoughton was in Dorchester? He was there at the Election Sermon 1668, came about 1651 & it was 20 (?) years to the ord. of Mr. Flint in 1671, not 1681, and about 20 more till his promotion to the magistracy. This gives him 40 years. Mr. Flint was ord. 1671, not 1681, as he died in 1680. John Danford [*sic*] was ord. in 1652, and Mr. Bowman was ord. with him 1729 and him I knew."

1660.

The | Book of the General | LAWS AND LIBERTYES | Concerning the Inhabitants of the | Massachusets, collected out of the Records of | The General Court, for the several Years | Wherein they were made and | Established | And | Now Revised by the same Court, and disposed into an | Alphabetical order, and published by the same | Authority in the General Court holden | at Boston, in May | 1649. | [Two lines from Rom. xiii. 2.] ‖ Cambridge, | Printed according to the Order of the General Court. | 1660. 4to.

This is the same edition given in Dr. Green's list, page 10. The American Antiquarian Society's copy has on the title-page the autograph of "Edward Rawson, his booke," also that of Edward Denison, on fly-leaf that of Jno. Sprague 1783 and Wm. Stedman 1805, who presented the volume to the Society in 1814. Rawson's name appears twice on the title-page, also on a fly-leaf. In the same volume are the Laws and Orders, 1661–1664 inclusive, as given in Dr. Green's list. Also the Laws and Orders made in May, August and October, 1665, May and October, 1666, and April and October, 1668.

William Stedman, who presented this volume, was born at Cambridge in 1765, graduated at Harvard College 1784, married a daughter of William Ellery, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, member of Congress 1803–1810 for the Worcester District (Mass.), Clerk of the Courts of Worcester County 1810–1816. He was said in his day to have been the wit of the House of Representatives, and his friend and room-mate, Senator Tracy of Connecticut, had a similar reputation in the Senate.

In a note appended to this volume, written by Dr. Samuel F. Haven, he says: "This is supposed to be the oldest edition extant, a previous edition was printed in 1648[9?], but none of the copies are now known to be in existence."

1661.

The New | Testament | of Our | Lord and Saviour | Jesus Christ. | Translated into the | Indian Language, | And | Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | CORPORATION IN ENGLAND | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians | in New-England. ‖ Cambridg: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXI.

Second title: Wusku | Wuttestamentum | Nul-Lordumun | Jesus Christ | Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun. | [Diamond-shaped figure of 32 pieces between two lines.] ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXI. 4to.

Mark, chap. xi. v. 9, to Luke, chap. i. v. 16, inclusive, and the dedication to Charles II. are wanting. Following the New Testament there is in this volume the Psalms of David, "Wame | Ketœohomae uketœohomaongash | David." For full description see "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible," by W. Eames.

1662.

Almanack for 1662, title-page wanting; 12 pp. March to February, MDCLXII.; 2 pp. "The primum mobile" and "New England Zodiake." "The Phaethontick." 16mo. pp. (14).

Propositions | Concerning The | Subject of Baptism | and | Consociation of Churches, | Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of God, | By A | Synod of Elders | And | Messengers of the Churches | in Massachusets-Colony in New-England | Assembled at Boston, according to Appointment of the | Honoured General Court, | In the Year 1662. | At a General Court held at Boston in New- | England the 8th of October, 1662. | The Court having Read over this Result of the Synod, judge meet to | Commend the same unto the Consideration of all the Churches and | People of this Jurisdiction, And for that end doe Order the Printing | thereof. | By the Court, Edward Rawson Secret'. ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Usher at Boston in | New-England, 1662. Sm. 4to. pp. (16), 32.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 14 pp. "The Preface | to the | Christian Reader." | 1–32, "The Answer | of the Elders and Other | Messengers | of the Churches Assembled at Boston | in the Year 1662, | etc."

Dr. Green in his list, under date of 1662, gives this with a slightly different title and the number of pages as (14) (18). In the copy described by him, the Propositions, etc., is followed by "Anti-Synodalia," which is not in the copy belonging to the American Antiquarian Society. It is probable that the edition described by Dr. Green is the London edition which is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society and answers the description as given by him. There is another copy of the Boston edition in the library without title and several pages are missing. There is also an imperfect copy of the Cambridge edition, the title-page, ten pages of the preface and ten pages at the end wanting.

1663.

MDCLXIII. | An | Almanack | of | The Cœlestial Motions for the year of the | Christian Æra | 1663. | Being (in our Account) Bissextile, or Leap-year, | and from the Creation 5612. | Whose Vulgar Notes are | Golden Number 11. Cycle of the Sun 20. | Domin. Letters D. C. Roman Indict. 1. | Epact 1. Num. of Direct. 29. | Fitted to New-England Longitude 315 gr. | and Latitude 42 d. 30 m. | By Israel Chauncy. | [Greek word] | [Two lines Latin]. ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson. 1663. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border of acorn shaped figures with moons in the corners, *verso*, About the Eclipses; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The Theory of Planetary Orbs"; 1 p. "The Natural Portents of Eclipses according to approved Authors," with a cut showing "The Position of the Heavens at the middle of the Eclipse of the Sun, August 22, 3 h. 12 m. 51 sec. Afternoon 1663."

Another Essay For The | Investigation | Of The Truth | In answer to two Questions Con | cerning I. The Subject of Baptism, | II. The Consecration of Churches. | By John Davenport, ‖ Cambridge, Printed by S. Green, | and M. Johnson. | 1663. Sm. 4to. pp. (87). Two imperfect copies.

Title-page of better copy wanting. The above is taken from a manuscript copy on fly-leaf of the volume; 14 pp. An | Apologetical Preface to the | Reader. | [By Increase Mather]; 1–64, "Certain Positions | out of the | Holy Scriptures | Premised to the whole ensuing | Discourse"; 65–71, Considerations upon the Seven Propositions Concluded by the Synod sitting at Boston, June 10th, 1662, by the Reverend, Mr. Nicholas Street, Teacher of the Church of Christ at New-haven. "Mr. Davenport wrote *two* Essays of which the *second* only was printed, hence the title Another Essay." [Brinley Catalogue.]

At bottom of last page "There is now in Press a small Treatise Entitled, a Discourse of the Last Judgement, on Matth. 25, 31 to the end, &c. By Mr. Samuel Whiting, Pastor of the Church of Christ at Lynne; which will shortly be extant."

The | Holy Bible: | Containing The | Old Testament | And The New. | Translated into the | Indian Language, | And | Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | Corporation in England | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians | in New-England. ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXIII.

Mamusse | Wunneetupauatamwe | Up-Biblum God | Naneeswe | Nukkone Testament | Kah wonk Wusku Testament. | Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ | noh Ascowesit | John Eliot. ‖ Cambridge: Printeucœp nashpe Samuel Green Kah Marmaduke Johnson | 1663.

The Indian title-page in fac-simile. The New Testament bound with the above is of the edition of 1661. At the bottom of last page of the Old Testament, "The property of Isaiah Thomas, of Boston and Worcester, Printer, 1791."

In this copy is a manuscript letter from Walter Folger, Jr., of Nantucket, dated Oct. 31, 1795, in which he speaks of making up one copy of the Bible from four others, and thinks there is only one chapter and twenty leaves missing. Attached to this letter is a MS. in the Indian language, of six lines, signed Benjamin Tarshamy, Nantucket, April 15, 1769. On the back of this: "This paper I found in a Bible that belonged to the within named Benjamin Tarshamy who was the last Indian Minister of the Gospel on Nantucket, whether it is of consequence or not I am not able to tell. W. F., Jr."

In the Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1873, the writer gave a list of owners of copies of the Indian Bible of the editions of 1663 and 1685 that he was able after much inquiry to hear of at that time. Of the edition of 1663, 27 copies, and of that of 1685, 28 copies were mentioned.

This list has been largely increased by Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library in his "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible," published in 1890, where he mentions 39 copies of the edition of 1663, and 55 of the edition of 1685.

1664.

MDCLXIV. | An | Almanack | OF | The Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Æra | 1664. | Being in our Account first from Leap-year, | and from the Creation 5613. | Whose Vulgar Notes are | Golden Number 12. Roman Indiction 2 | Cycle of the Sun 21. Epact 12. | Dominical Letter B. Number of the Direction 16. | Fitted to New-England Longitude 315 gr. | and Latitude 42 gr. 30 m. | By Israel Chauncy. | [Three lines Latin from Ovid; three lines Latin from Isai. xl.] ‖ Cambridge, | Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson. 1664. 16mo. pp. (14).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses; 12 pp. March to February. One leaf wanting.

A | Defence | of the | Answer and Arguments | of the | Synod | met at Boston in the year 1662.

This is the same as given in Dr. Green's list, page 16. The Society's copy has on title-page, in handwriting of Richard Mather: "For the Rever[d] Mr Shepard," also "Thomas Shepard's Booke ye gift of ye Rev[d] Author [Mr. Richard] Mather, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester."

Also, autograph of Benj. Wadsworth, 1717. Marginal notes by Mr. Shepard, who has written at the beginning of each part of the work the names of the authors.

The Sincere Convert Cambridge Printed by S Green 1664. 12mo. pp. 188.

The title-page is missing; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed, W. Greenhill; one leaf supposed to be wanting; 2 pp. "An Introduction to the Work"; 1–184 text in this copy. This title is given on the authority of Dr. Haven's Ante-Revolutionary List. Thomas in his History of Printing gives this in the list of books printed by Green.

1665.

MDCLXV. | An | Almanack | OF | Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epocha | 1665. | Being in our Account second from Leap- | year, and from the Creation 5614. | Whose Vulgar Notes are | Golden Number 13 Cycle of the Sun 22. | Roman Indiction 3 Epact 23. | Dominical Letter A. Number of Direction 5. | Fitted for Longitude 315 gr. and 42 | gr. 30. min. of North Latitude. | By Alex. Nowell, [Greek word.] | [Five lines from Gen. i. 17, 18.] ‖ Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green. 1665. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, Eclipses and tables of fixed stars; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The Suns Prerogative Vindicated"; 1 p. Comets. On the fly-leaf is written: "The blasing star was seen in winter 1664 before I went to the New country in aprill 1665 three or fower months it was seene in the evening."

Several | LAVVS and ORDERS | made at the | General Courts | in | May 3. August 1. & October 11. 1665. | Printed and Published by Order of the General Court held at Boston | the 11th of October, 1665. By Edward Rawson, Secr. pp. 4.

Laws made May 3, 1665, follow on same page, immediately after the title given above, last page is blank.

Manitowompae | Pomantamoonk: | Sampwshanau | Christianoh. | Uttoh Woh an | Pomantog. | Wussikkitteahonat | God: | [Two lines from I. Tim. 4, 8 in the Indian language.] || Cambridge | Printed in the Year 1665. Sm. 8vo. pp. 400.

Title-page has ornamental border, *verso* blank; 3 pp. Table of Contents. pp. 3–397.

This is the first edition of Lewis Bayly's "Practice of Piety" (abridged), translated into the Indian language by John Eliot. A second edition was published in 1685. This copy was presented to the Antiquarian Society by Rev. Isaac Smith of Boston in 1815. At the beginning and end of the volume, four pages of psalms in the Indian language are bound in. In MS. on one of these pages "N. B. These waste leaves are part of version of the Psalms of David & in the Indian language, see same at the end of Eliot's Bible." A copy sold at the Brinley sale is in the library of Yale College, and that and the copy belonging to the American Antiquarian Society are supposed to be the only ones in the United States.

1666.

1666. | An | Almanack | or | Astronomical Calculations | Of the most remarkable Celestial Revo- | lutions &c. visible in our Horizon. | Together with the Scripture and Jewish | Names (wherein though we agree not with | their Terms, yet we follow their Order) | for the ensuing Year 1666. | Being in our Account third from Leap-year | and from the Creation 5615. | Whose Vulgar Notes are | Golden Number 14. Roman Indict. 4 | Epact 4. Numb. of Direct. 25. | Cycle of the

Sun 23. | Dominical Letter G. | Calculated to N. E. Longit. 315 degr. | and Latit. 42 degr. 30 min. | By Josiah Flint [Greek word.] | [Two lines from Job xxvi. 13; two lines from Psal. xix. 1.] ‖ Cambridge: | Printed Anno Dom. 1666. 16mo. pp. (12).

Title-page, with border, *verso*, The Eclipses; 10 pp. First month to twelvth month; 2 pp. "The Worlds Eternity is an Impossibility" and "A Short Discourse about 66," in verse, signed N. N.

Severall | LAVVS and ORDERS | made at the | General Court | Held at Boston, the 23d of May, 1666. And on the | 11th of October following. | Printed and Published by Order of the General Court, the said 11th of | October, 1666. | By Edward Rawson Secr. 4to. pp. (4). Last page blank.

1667.

1667 | An | Almanack | For | The Year of our Lord | 1667. | Being in our account Bissextile, or Leap- | year: and from the Creation 5616, | Whose Vulgar Notes are, Golden Number 15. Roman Indiction 5. | Cycle of the Sun 24. Epact. 15. | Dominical Letters F.E. Numb. Direction 17. | Fitted for the Longitude 315 gr. | and 42 gr. 30 m. of North Lat.: | and may serve without sensible | errour for most part of N-England. | By Samuel Brakenbury Philomath. | [Four lines from Job xxxviii. 31, 32.] ‖ Cambridge | Printed by Samuel Green 1667. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, ornamental border of moons, *verso*, Eclipses, also "A word of advice to whom it may concern," 14 lines; "The beginning of the four quarters of the Year, by the Suns Ingress into the four Cardinal points," four lines; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The use of the Almanack"; 1 p. "A Table of the Suns Altitude for every hour of the day, &c."

1668.

MDCLXVIII | An | Almanack | Of | The Cœlestial Motions for the Year of | the Christian Epocha. | 1668. | Being in our

account first from | Leap-year, and from the Creation | 5617. | Whose Vulgar Notes are |

Golden Number	16	Cycle of the Sun	25
Roman Indiction	06	Epact	26
Dominical Letter	D	Number of Direction	01

Calculated for Longitude 315 gr. and Latitude | 42 gr. 50 m. North. | By Joseph Dudley Astrophil. | [Two lines from Job xxxviii. 33. Two lines Latin.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. | 1668. 16mo. pp. 16.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses for the year; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "The beginning of the Year." At end of last page a diagram showing "The Position of the Heavens at the exact time of the Earth's ingress into the first puncture of Libra."

Several | LAVVS and ORDERS | Made at the | General Court | of | Election. | Held at Boston in | New-England | the 29th of April 1668. | Printed and Published by their Order. | Edward Rawson Secr. 4to. pp. 7. 2 blank pages. pp. 3. (12).

This is followed by:

Several | LAWS | and | ORDERS | Made at the | General Court, | Held at Boston in New-England, | October 14, 1668. | Printed and Published by their Order. | Edward Rawson Sec. ‖ Cambridge Printed in the Year, 1668.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 9–18. Some pages missing.

Gods | Terrible Voice | In the | City | of | London | Wherein you have the Narration of the | Two late Dreadful Judgements of | Plague and Fire, | Inflicted by the Lord upon that City; | The former in the Year 1665. the latter in the Year 1666. | By T. V. | To which is added, | The Generall Bill of Mortality, | Shewing the Number of Persons which died in every Parish of all | Diseases, and of the Plague, in the Year abovesaid. | [Two lines from Micah vi. 9.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson 1668. Sm. 4to. pp. (32).

Title-page, with heavy border, *verso* blank; 1 p. Introduction with ornamental head-piece; 4–32, text.

Wine | For | Gospel Wantons: | Or, | Cautions | Against | Spirituall Drunkenness. | Being the brief Notes of a Sermon Preached at | Cambridge in New-England, upon a Day of Publick Fasting | and Prayer throughout the Colony, June 25, 1645, | in reference to the sad estate of the Lords | People in England. | By that Reverend Servant of the Lord, | Mr Thomas Shepard deceased, | Sometimes the Pastor of the Church of Christ there. | [Three lines from Jer. vii. 12; two lines from Hosea iv. 4.] | Imprimatur, Charles Chauncy, John Sherman ‖ Cambridge: Printed in the Year 1668. Sm. 4to. pp. (15).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–15, "Wine for Gospel Wantons." Sabin says "Printed by Samuel Green or Marmaduke Johnson."

1669.

1669 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestiall Motions | For the Year of the Christian Æra, | 1669. | Being (in our Account) second after Leap- | year, and from the Creation | 5618. | The Vulgar Notes whereof are | Golden Number 17. Cycle of the Sun 26. | Roman Indiction 07. Epact 07. | Dominicall Letter C. Numb. of Direction 21. | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 gr. | and 42 gr. 30 m. North Latitude. | By J. B. Philomathemat. | [One line Latin.] ‖ Cambridge. | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "A Chronological Table of some Memorable Occurances (acording to good information) which have happened in New-England." At bottom of last page, "Reader, In few weeks will come forth to publick view, the History of New-England, Entituled, New-Englands Memoriall or a Brief Relation of the most Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God manifested to the Planters of N. E. in America &c. By Nathaniel Morton."

New-England's | Memoriall: | or | A Brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable | Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the | Planters | of | New-England in

America; | With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called | New-Plimouth, | As also a nomination of divers of the most Eminent Instruments | deceased, both of Church and Common-wealth, improved in the | first beginning and after-progress of sundry of the respective | Jurisdictions in those Parts; in reference unto sundry | Exemplary Passages of their Lives, and | the time of their Death. | Published for the Use and Benefit of present and future Generations, | By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth. | . . . ‖ Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J., for John Vsher of Boston, 1669. 4to. pp. (215).

Title-page wanting; "To the Reader"; 1 leaf wanting; Dedication, 4 pp. "To the Right Worshipful Thomas Prince Esq., Governour of the Jurisdiction of New Plimouth, etc."; 4 pp. "To the Christian Reader"; 1–198, "New-England's Memorial"; 5 pp. "A Brief Chronological Table"; three pages wanting. The above title is taken from Sabin's "Dictionary of Books Relating to America." Vol. XII., No. 51022.

The late J. Russell Bartlett says: "Concerning the extreme rarity of the first edition of this important work, it will be sufficient to remark, that we know of but three perfect copies in the United States, the last five leaves, 'A Brief Chronological Table,' are often wanting."

The | Indian Primer; | or | The way of training up of our | Indian Youth in the good | Knowledge of God, in the | Knowledge of the Scriptures | and in an ability to Reade. | Composed by J. E., | [Seven lines from II. Tim. iii. 14, 15.] ‖ (In the Indian language) Cambridge, Printed 1669.

The Society's copy is quite imperfect, lacking the title-page and several pages of text. The above title is taken from a reprint by John Small, Librarian of the University of Edinburgh, 1877.

A True and Exact | Relation | of the Late | Prodigious Earthquake & Eruption | of | Mount Ætna, | Or, Monte-Gibello; | As it came | In a Letter written to His Majesty from Naples

| By the Right Honourable | The Earl of Winchilsea, | His Majesties late Ambassador at Constantinople, who in his | Return from thence, Visiting Catania in the Island of | Sicily, was an Ey-witness of that dreadful Spectacle. | Together with a more particular Narrative of the | same, as it is Collected out of several Relations | Sent from Catania. | Published by Authority, ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669. 4to. pp. (19).

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 3–19. Last page has "A list of the most Considerable Towns and Places Ruin'd and Destroyed by the Dreadful Earthquake and Eruptions."

1670.

1670 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestiall Motions | For the Year of the Christian Æra, | 1670. | Being (in our Account) third after Leap- | year, and from the Creation | 5619. | The Vulgar Notes whereof are | Golden Number 18. Cycle of the Sun 27. | Roman Indiction 08. Epact 18. | Dominicall Letter B. Numb of Direct. 13. | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 gr. | and 42 gr. 30 m. North Latitude. | By J. R. [Greek word.] | [Two lines of Latin.] ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses for the year; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The Country-Mans Apocrypha"; 1 p. "A Perpetual Calender, fitted for the Meridian of Babylon, where the Tope is Elevated 42 Dgr."

1671.

Almanack for 1671. Title-page wanting; 12 pp. March to February, at the bottom of each of the twelve pages of calendar are 8 lines of poetry; 2 pp. "A Brief Geographical Description of the World," and "a most plain and Easie Table, showing the true time of the Beginning, Continuance, and Years since the Reign of each King and Queen in England, since the Conquest, until this present year 1671." pp. (14).

1672.

An | EPHEMERIS | Of The | Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epocha | 1672. | Whereto are numbered from |

The	Creation of the World	5621
	General Deluge	3965
	Constitution of the Julian Year	1716
	Passion and Death of Christ	639
	Corection of the Calender by Pope Gregory	90
	Planting of the Massachusets Colony	44
	Bissextile or Leapyear	01

The Vulgar Notes are | Golden Number 01 Roman Indiction 10 | Cycle of the Sun 01 Epact 11 | Dominical Letter F. Numb. of Direct 17 | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 gr. | and Elevation of the Pole Artick 42 gr. | and 30 m. and may generally serve for | the most part of New-England. | By Jeremiah Shepard. [Greek word.] | [Two lines Latin.] | Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1672. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses; 12 pp. March to February; 1 p. "The nature and qualities of the 12 signes in the Zodiack"; 1 p. "A Table Containing the Altitude of the five stars, mentioned in the Calender (at the Bottome of every page) at every quarter of an hour, from the Meridian," and "The use of this Table."

Peace | The End of the Perfect and Uprigh. [*sic*] | Demonstrated and usefully Improved in a | Sermon. | Preached upon the Occasion of the Death and Decease of that | Piously Affected, and truly Religious Matron. | Mrs Anne Mason: | Sometime Wife to Major Mason, who not long | after finished his Course and is now at rest. | By Mr. James Fitch, Pastor of the Church of Christ at | Norwich. | [One line from Prov. x. 7; one line from Psal. cxii. 6; four lines from Heb. vi. 11, 12.] | Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1672. Sm. 4to. pp. (2), 13.

Title-page, *verso*, "Christian Reader"; 1–13, text.

The Brinley Catalogue, No. 766, says: "I know of but *one other* copy — which is in Am. Antiquarian Society library." "Major Mason is of course *the* famous Major John, the commander in the Pequot War, whose daughter Priscilla was the wife of Mr. Fitch."

The Brinley copy, bound by Bedford, sold for $40.

The | Spouse of Christ | Coming out of affliction, leaning upon Her | Beloved: | Or, A | Sermon | Preached by | Mr John Allin | The late Reverend Pastor to the Church of Christ at Dedham, | At the Administration of the Lords Supper, August 6, 1671. | And may be useful to any Church of Christ, or true | Believer in a state of affliction. | [Four lines from I. Sam. xxx. 6.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green: and are to be sold | by John Tappin of Boston. 1672. Sm. 4to. pp. (4), 11.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader"; 1–11, Sermon. Then follows with continuous pagination:

The | Lord Jesus his Legacie of Peace, | To Arm his Disciples against Trouble and Fear: | Or, A | Sermon | Preached by | Mr. John Allin | The late Reverend Pastor of the Church of Christ in | Dedham, August 13, 1671. | Being the last that he Preached before his Death, | which was August 26, 1671. | [One line from Luke ii. 14.] ‖ Cambridge, Printed in the year 1672. pp. 13–26.

1673.

1673 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestial Motions of the Year of the | Christian Æra. | 1673. | Being second after Leap-year and from | the Creation, | 5622. | The Vulgar Notes are | Prime 02, Cycle of the Sun 02 | Roman Indiction 11. Epact 22. | Dominical Letter E. | Numb. of Direction 09. | Calculated for the Longitude of 315. gr. | & North Latitude 42. gr. 30. m. | By N. H. | [Four lines Latin from Gen. i. 16.] ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, About the Eclipses, &c.; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "A Continuance

of the Chronological Table of Memorable Occurrences happening in New England, which was affixt to the Almanack made for 1669 and ended at 67"; "1672 This year was gathered a general and liberal Contribution through ye whole Massachusets Colony, for erecting of new buildings for ye Colledge at Cambridge, amounting to two or three thousand pounds, which is expected will receive considerable additions from the other two colonies, as also from other places"; "An Explanation of the Almanack."

1674.

The | Cry of Sodom | Enqvired Into: | Upon Occasion of | The Arraignment and Condemnation | Of | BENJAMIN GOAD, | For his Prodigious Villany, | Together with | A Solemn Exhortation to Tremble at Gods Judgements, | and to Abandon Youthful Lusts. | By S. D[anforth]. | [Two lines from Isa. xxvi. 9; six lines from Psal. cxix. 118, 119, 120; two lines I. Pet. ii. 11.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1674. 4to. pp. (4), 26.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Christian Reader," signed John Sherman, Urian Oakes, Thomas Shepard; 1–26, "The Cry of Sodom etc."; last page blank; on last leaf, autograph, "Samuel Checkley. His Booke 1674."

Souldiery Spiritualized, | Or | the Christian Souldier | Orderly, and Strenuously Engaged in the | Spiritual Warre, | And So fighting the good Fight: | Represented in a Sermon Preached at Boston in | New England on the Day of the Artil- | lery Election there, June 1, 1674. | By Joshua Moodey Pastor of the Church at | Portsmouth in New-England. | [One line from I. Tim. vi. 12; four lines II. Tim. ii. 3, 5. ‖ Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, 1674. 4to. pp. (2), (2), 47.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the much Honoured, the Artillery Company in Boston." signed "Your Servant in your Spiritual warfare Joshua Moodey"; 1–47, text; signature of Samuel Checkley on title-page.

1675.

1675 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestial motions for the Year of the | Christian Æra, | 1675. | Being (in our Account) Leap-Year, | and from the Creation 5624. | The Vulgar Notes whereof are | Golden Number 4 Epact 14 | Cycle of the Sun 4, Roman Indict 13 | Dominic Letter C. Numb. Directio 14 | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 gr. | and 42 gr. 30 m. North Latitude. | By J. Foster. | [Two lines Latin from Ovid.] ‖ Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green 1675. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, Eclipses, with cut representing total eclipse of the moon; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "A brief Description of the Cœlestial Orbs, according to the Opinion of that Ancient Philosopher Pythagoras, and of all the latter Astronomers."

The General | LAWS | and | LIBERTIES | Of The | Massachusetts Colony | in | New-England, | Revised and Reprinted | By Order of the General Court holden at Boston, | May 15th, 1672. | Edward Rawson, Secr. | [Two lines from Rom. xiii. 2.] ‖ Cambridge in New-England, | Printed by Samuel Green, for John Usher of Boston, and to be sold by | Richard Chiswel, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, London, | 1675. 4to. pp. (2), 170, (27), (2).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 1–170, text; two pages missing; blank page; 27 pp. "A Summary of the Laws foregoing Alphabetically | Digested" | ; blank page; 2 pp. List of books sold by Richard Chiswel; last page blank.

Contents of this volume same as the edition of 1672. Copy imperfect, two pages wanting and first leaf of the laws imperfect.

Among the books in Chiswel's list are Morton's New-England Memorial, and John Davenport's God's Call to his People, New England Psalms, duod. &c.

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the | General Court | Holden at Boston the twelvth of May, | 1675. | And Printed by their Order, | Edward Rawson, Secrt. 4to. pp. 17, (19), 21 and blank page.

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the Sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston the 13th of October 1675. As also at the Sessions | of Court held at Boston the 3d of November 1675. | And Printed by their Order, | Edward Rawson Secr. pp. 25–28.

Laws & Ordinances | of Warre, | Pas'd by the General Court of the Massachusets, | for the better Regulating their Forces and | keeping their Souldiers to their Duty, and to | prevent Prophaneness, that Iniquity may be | kept out of the Camp. pp. 29–40. Also

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the | General Court | Held at Boston the 21st of February, 1675. pp. 41–43. Colonial arms at top of page 41.

The Wicked mans Portion. | Or | A Sermon | (Preached at the Lecture in Boston in New-England the | 18th day of the 1 Moneth 1674. when two men | were executed, who had murthered | their Master.) | Wherein is shewed | That excesse in wickedness doth bring | untimely Death. | By Increase Mather, Teacher | of a Church of Christ. | [Two lines from Prov. x. 27; three lines from Eph. vi. 2, 3, and one line in Latin.] || Boston | Printed by John Foster. 1675. 4to. pp. (4), 25.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Thine in Christ—Increase Mather." Boston, N. E., 15 of 2 Moneth, 1675; 1–25, Sermon; at bottom of last page, "Tibi Domine" and five lines of *errata*.

In this volume is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Samuel F. Haven, late Librarian of the Antiquarian Society: "This pamphlet and another of Increase Mather's, named below, are probably the first issues of the press in Boston, 'The Times of Men are in the hands of God, a sermon occasioned by the blowing up of a vessel with the crew. By Increase Mather. pp. 21. 4to. Boston. Printed by John Foster. 1675.' S. F. H." Signature of John Dolbeare on title-page.

For full title and description of the last named see Dr. Green's list, page 32.

1676.

1676 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestial Motions of the Sun and Planets, | with some of their principal Aspects. | For the Year of the Christian Æra, | 1676. | Being in our Account the first after Bis- | sextile or Leap-year and from the | Creation, 5625 | The Vulgar Notes of which are | Cycle of ☾ or Golden numb. 5 Cycle of ☉ 5. | Roman Indiction 14. Epact 25. | Dominical Letter A. for January & February G. Number of Direction 5. | Calculated for Longitude 315 gr. and 42 gr. 30 min. | of North Latitude. | By J. S[herman]. | [Four lines from Psal. xix. 1, 2.] ‖ Cambridge Printed by S. Green 1676. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, Of Eclipses of the Sun and Moon; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "A Monitory Advertisement to all who desire to approve themselves Serious and seeing," etc.

Cut of Colony Arms.

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the | General Court, | Held at Boston for Election the 3d of | May 1676 | And Printed by their Order | Edward Rawson Secr. 4to. pp. 45–48. (Imperfect.)

1677.

1677. | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestial Motions of the Sun and Planets, | with some of their principal Aspects | For the Year of the Christian Æra | 1677. | Being in our Account the second after | Leap-year and from the Creation, 5626. | The Vulgar Notes of which are | Cycle of ☾ or Golden Numb 6, Cycle of ☉ 6. | Roman Indiction 15. Epact 6. Dominical Letter G. Number of Direction 25. | For January & February F. | Calculated for Longitude 315. gr. and 42. gr. 30 min. | of North Latitude. | By J. S[herman]. | [Four lines from Psal. viii. 3, 4]. ‖ Cambridge Printed by S. Green 1677. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, *verso*, About the Eclipses; 12 pp. March to February; 2 pp. "A Brief Essay to promote a religious improvement of this preceding Calender."

Arms of the Colony.

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the first Sessions of the | General Court | for Elections | Held at Boston in New England | May 23d. 1677. | Printed and Published by their Order, | By Edward Rawson Secr't. Sm. folio. pp. (49–55).

Arms of the Colony.

Several | Laws and Orders | Made at the second sessions of the | General Court | Held at Boston October 10th, 1677. | And published by Order thereof. | Edward Rawson Secr'. Sm. folio. pp. (57–59). (Slightly imperfect.)

1678.

1678. | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epocha | 1678. | Being (in our account) third after | Leap-year, and from the Creation | 5627. | The Vulgar Notes are | Golden numb. 7, Epact. 17. | Cycle of the Sun 7 Rom. Indict 1. | Dominic Let. F. Num. direct. 10. | Calculated for the longitude of 315 gr. | and 42 gr. 30 min. north latitude. | J. F. | Printed by J. Foster, for John Usher of | Boston, 1678. 16mo. pp. (32).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 1 p. "The Dominion of Moon in Man's Body (according to Astronomers)"; a cut of the signs of the Zodiac; 12 lines; 24 pp. March to February; 1 p. "Direction for use of the Kalendar"; 1 p. "Of the Eclipses of this year 1678"; 3 pp. "The course of the spring tides this year"; after Finis at bottom of last page, "The Full Moon in July is by mistake of a figure on a wrong day, and must be thus mended. Full Moon 23 day 30 min. past 1, afternoon."

A Serious | Exhortation | To the | Present and Succeeding Generation | In | New-England | Earnestly Calling upon all to endeavour that the Lords Gracious | Presence may be continued with Posterity. | Being the substance of the Last

Sermons preached | By Mr. Eleazer Mather, late Pastor of | the Church in Northampton in New-England. | The second Edition | Five lines from Judg. ii. 10, 17; six lines from Psal. lxxviii. 3, 4, 5.] ‖ Boston | Printed by John Foster, 1678. Sm. 4to. pp. (4), 22.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader." pp. 1–22. If there were the same number of pages as in the first edition (2–32) there are nine pages missing in this copy. The Antiquarian Society has the first edition, Cambridge, 1671. See Dr. Green's list for description.

Pray for the Rising Generation, | Or A | Sermon | Wherein Godly Parents are Encou- | raged, to Pray and Believe | for their Children. | Preached the third day of the fifth Month, 1678. | which Day was set apart by the Second Church in | Boston in New-England, | humbly to seek unto God by Fasting and Prayer, | for a Spirit of Converting Grace, to be poured | out upon the Children and Rising Generation in | New-England. | By Increase Mather, Teacher | of that Church. | [Two lines from Deut. xxx. 6; two from II. Sam. vii. 27; two from Isai. xxxii. 15; and two lines of Latin.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green, and sold by | Edmund Ranger in Boston. 1678. 16mo. pp. (4), 23.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed, Increase Mather, Boston, August 22, 1678. pp. 5–23. "Tibi Domine" at the end of page 23.

Dr. Green gives another edition in 1679, printed by John Foster, which is also in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

Several | Poems | Compiled with great variety of Wit and | Learning, full of Delight, | Wherein especially is contained a compleat | Discourse, and Description of |

The Four { Elements
Constitutions,
Ages of Man,
Seasons of the Year.

Together with an exact Epitome of | the three first Monarchyes

Viz. The { Assyrian, Persian, Grecian.

And beginning of the Romane Common-wealth | to the end of their last King: | With diverse other pleasant & serious Poems; | By a Gentlewoman in New-England. | The second Edition, Corrected by the Author, | and enlarged by an Addition of several other | Poems found amongst her Papers | after her Death. ‖ Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1678. 24mo. pp. (14), 1–255.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "Kind Reader" &c.; 1 p. Poem by N. Ward; 3 pp. "To my dear Sister"; 1 p. "Upon the Author" &c.; 1 p. "In praise of the Author"; 1 p. "Upon the Author" &c.; 3 pp. "Upon Mrs. Anne Bradstreet" &c. (14) 1–255.

The "Gentlewoman in New-England" was Mrs. Anne Bradstreet. The American Antiquarian Society has the first edition, printed at London in 1650, with the title:

"The | Tenth Muse | Lately sprung up in America. | Or | Severall Poems, compiled | with great variety of Wit | and Learning, full of delight," &c. "Printed at London for Stephen Bowtell at the signe of the Bible in Popes Head-Alley. 1650." Also, the third edition, printed in 1758.

1679.

A Call from Heaven | To the Present and Succeeding | Generations | Or a | Discourse | Wherin [*sic*] is shewed. | I. That the Children of Godly Parents are under | special Advantages and Encouragements to | seek the Lord. | II. The Exceeding danger of Apostasie . . . Delivered in a Sermon, preached in the Audi | ence of the general Assembly of the Massachu- | sets Colony, at Boston in New-England, | May 23, 1677, being the day of Election | there. | III. That

Young Men ought to Remember God | their Creator: | By Increase Mather. ‖ Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1679. Sm. 8vo. pp. (8), 114.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 6 pp. "To the Reader"; errata at bottom of page 6; 1–32, "A Call to the Rising Generation." Then follows, 35–46, "A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostasy," &c.; 95–114, then a sermon from Eccles. XII. 1; "Tibi Domine" at bottom of last page. There is also an edition of 1685 in the Society's library, for full title of which see Dr. Green's list. The title-page for the edition of 1679 is missing, and the above was taken from Sabin's Dictionary, No. 46645.

The Necessity | Of | Reformation | With the Expedients subservient | thereunto, asserted; | in Answer to two | Questions | I. What are the Evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his Judg- | ments on New-England? | II. What is to be done that so those Evils may be Reformed? | Agreed upon by the | Elders and Messengers | of the Churches assembled in the | Synod | at Boston in New-England, | Sept. 10, 1679. | [Three lines from Mal. iii. 7; four lines from Rev. ii. 4, 5.] ‖ Boston. | Printed by John Foster; In the Year, 1679. Sm. 4to. pp. (6), 16.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Much Honoured General Court of the Massachusetts Colony now sitting at Boston in New-England." pp. 1–16, last page blank.

1680.

MDCLXXX. | An | Almanack | of | Cœlestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Æpocha, | 1680. ‖ "Printed for, and sold by Henry Phillips in the | West End of the Exchange in Boston, 1680."

This is the same as given in Dr. Green's list, except the imprint, which he gives as "Printed for John Usher of Boston."

A Proclamation for Fast, April 21, 168$\frac{0}{1}$. Broadside. Folio, size 8 x 11$\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Cut of the Colonial Arms at top of the page. At a | General Court | Held at Boston the 16th of March 168⅝. Speaks of "that fearful Sight and Sign from Heaven, which hath of late been taken notice of; . . . for that the Lord hath this last year manifested his holy displeasure against us, having by an unusual Flood, by the Blast, and by worms which his own own [*sic*] hand (who is able by the most contemptible of his creatures to stain our glory) hath sent among us, diminished the fruits of the earth." Also alludes to "Considerable losses at sea; and visited some amongst us by sudden and unexpected Deaths," &c. Signed, "By the Court, Edward Rawson Sec'r."

A | Confession | of | Faith | owned and consented unto by the | Elders and Messengers | of the Churches | Assembled at Boston in New-England, | May 12, 1680. | Being the second Session of that | Synod. | [One line Eph. iv. 5; two lines Col. ii. 5.] ‖ Boston. | Printed by John Foster. 1680. 16mo. pp. (8), 65.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; on page before the title, "At a General Court held at | held at [*sic*] Boston, May 19, | 1680," etc.; ten lines signed Edward Rawson Secr.; 4 pp. "A Preface"; 1–65, "A Confession of Faith."

A Copy of | The Church-Covenants | which have been used in the | Church of | Salem | Both formerly, and in their late Renewing of | their Covenant on the day of the publick Fast, | April 15, 1680. | As a Direction pointing to that Covenant of | Gods Grace in Christ made with his | Church and People in the holy Scripture. | [Two lines from Psal. l. 5; three lines from Heb. xii. 24, x. 29, xiii. 21; and six from Jer. xxx. 21, 22 and l. 4, 5.] ‖ Boston. | Printed, at the desire and for the use of many in Salem, | for themselves and their Children, | by J. F.[oster] 1680. 16mo. pp. (10).

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–8. Has the autograph of Saml. Curwen, 1739, on page 1 and page 8, and of Jonathan Curwen on fly-leaf.

A | Platform | of | Church-Discipline | Gathered out of | The Word of God, | And Agreed upon by the | Elders and Messengers | of the Churches Assembled in the | Synod. | At Cambridge in N. E. | To be presented to the Churches & General-Court | for their Consideration and Acceptance in | the Lord, the 8th Moneth, Anno. 1649. | [Nine lines from Psal. lxxxiv. 1, xxvi. 8, and xxvii. 4.] ‖ Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1680. 16mo. pp. (2), (22), 64, (4).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 21 pp. "The Preface"; 1–64, text; 3 pp. Table of Contents; and blank page.

Returning unto God the Great Concernment | of a Covenant People. |

A sermon by Increase Mather. Same as in Dr. Green's list.

On the last page of this copy, in the handwriting of Thomas Prince, are the words: "I have ye 1st rough Draught of this covenant drawn by Mr. Increase Mather, in his own Handwriting. T. Prince."

WUSKU. | Wuttestamentum | Nul-lordumun | Jesus Christ. | Nuppoquohwussuaenenmun. ‖ Cambridge, | Printed for the Right Honourable | Corporation in London, for the | propogation of the Gospel among the In- | dians in New-England. 1680. (Two copies, one very imperfect.)

On this title-page is the inscription: "American Antiquarian Society from Col. James W. Sever, Dec. 4, 1858." At the end the Psalms of David. This is the New Testament in the Indian language and is bound up with the Old Testament of 1685. In MS. on title-page, "2d Edition."

1681.

Heavens Alarm to the World. | Or | A Sermon | Wherein is shewed, | That fearful Sights and Signs in Heaven | are the Presages of Great Ca- | lamities at hand. | By Increase Mather: Teacher of a Church | in Boston in New England.

| [Two lines from Jer. vi. 17; four lines from Joel ii. 30, 31; three lines from Rev. viii. 10, and two lines from Rev. xi. 14.] ‖ Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1681. pp. (5), (1), 17.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "To the Reader," signed, "Increase Mather, Boston, N. E., 12 Moneth, Vulgo Feby 16, 1680"; blank page; 1–17, Sermon; "Tibi Domine" at bottom of last page.

Dr. Green describes a second edition in 1682.

Brinley Catalogue says of the first edition: "Thomas had seen no book printed by John Foster after 1680 (Hist. of Printing, I. 276). Foster died Sept. 9th, 1681. This was probably his last work."

1682.

Covenant-Keeping | The Way to | Blessedness, | Or | A brief Discourse wherein is shewn the | Connexion which there is between the | Promise, on God's Part; | and Duty, on Our Part, | in the Covenant of Grace: | As it was Delivered in several Sermons, | Preached in Order to Solemn Renewing of | Covenant. | By *Samuel Willard* Teacher | of a Church in Boston in New-England. | [Seven lines from Deut. vii. 9, 10.] ‖ Boston in New-England, | Printed by James Glen for Samuel Sewall, 1682. 16mo. pp. (12), 127, (1).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 9 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather, Boston, N. England Novemb 15, 1682"; blank page; 1–127, "Covenant-Keeping the way to Blessedness"; 1 p. "The Printer, to the Reader." Followed by:

The | Necessity | of | Sincerity, | in renewing | Covenant: | Opened and Urged in a | Sermon Preached to the Third ga- | thered Church in Boston New-England; | June, 29, 1680. On the Day wherein they | Solemnly renewed Covenant. | By Samuel Willard Teacher | of that Church. | [Two lines from Psal. cxix. 8; two lines from Lam. iii. 41.] ‖ Boston in New-England, | Printed by James Glen, for Samuel Sewall 1682. pp. (2), 131–150, (6).

Title-page, *verso* blank; pp. 131–150; two blank pages; 6 pp. "June 29 1680 The Church Renewed Covenant as followeth"; at bottom of last page, "Soli Deo Gloria."

Practical Truths | Tending to Promote the | Power of Godliness: | Wherein | Several Important Duties, are | Urged, and the Evil of Divers com | mon Sins is Evinced. | Delivered in Sundry | Sermons. | By Increase Mather, | Teacher of a Church at Boston in | New-England. | [Two lines from John xiii. 17; two lines from Phil. iii. 1; seven lines from II. Pet. i. 13, 15.] ‖ Boston in New England | Printed by Samuel Green upon Assign | ment of Samuel Sewall. | 1682. 16mo. pp. (10), (2), 220.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "The Contents"; 6 pp. "To the Second Church and Congregation at Boston in New-England," signed "Your loving (though unworthy) Teacher, Increase Mather. Boston in New-England, 19 day of 5 Moneth (vulgo) July 1682"; blank page; 1 p. Advertisement and *Errata;* blank page; 1–220, "The Godly Man is a Praying Man," etc.; "Tibi Domine" at end of last page.

A | Seasonable Discourse | Wherein | Sincerity & Delight | in the Service of God | is earnestly pressed upon | Professors of Religion. | Delivered on a Publick Fast, at Cambridge in | New-England, | By the Reverend, and Learned Urian Oakes, | Late Pastor of the Church there and Praesident of | Harvard Colledge. | [Five lines from Zech. i. 5, 6; three lines from Rev. xiv. 13. ‖ Cambridge, | Printed by Samuel Green 1682. Sm. 4to. pp. (6), 23.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather, Boston, 2, 19, 1682"; pp. 1–23; *Errata* at bottom of last page.

1683.

Sion in Distress | Or The | Groans | Of The | Protestant | Church. | [Four lines from Lam. i. 12, 17, 20; two lines Latin.] | The Third Edition ‖ Boston in New England, | Printed by S. G. for Samuel Philips at the | West End of the Town-House. 1683. 16mo. pp. (8), 128.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Your Souls well wisher"; 1 p. "To his Friend the Author On the First Impression"; 2 pp. "To my Friend the Author upon His Revived Poem"; 1–128, "Sion in Distress," &c.; at top of third page in MS., "J. W. at S. C. Auction 23d Aug. 1797."

1684.

The Child's | Portion: | Or the unseen | Glory | Of the Children of God, Asserted, and | proved: Together with several other | Sermons | Occasionally Preached, and now published. | By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church in | Boston, New-England. | [Five lines from Psal. xlii. 11.] | Boston, in New-England, | Printed by Samuel Green, and are to be sold | by Samuel Phillips, at the West end of the | Town-house, 1684. 16mo. pp. (8), 227.

Title-page, border, two lines, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "By your Servant in and for Christ, S. W." pp. 1–144. The Child's Portion. This is followed by:

The Righteous Man's | Death | A Presage of evil aproaching: | A Sermon | Occasioned by the Death of | Major Thomas Savage Esq; | Preached, Febr. 19, 1681. | By Samuel Willard Teacher of a Church | in Boston, N. E. | [Two lines from Isa. lvii. 1.] | Boston in New-England, | Printed by Samuel Green, 1684. pp. (162).

Title-page, *verso* blank; pp. 145–162, followed by: 163–197, "The only sure way to prevent threatened Calamity: As it was delivered in a Sermon, Preached at the Court of Election, May, 24, 1682"; last page blank. Followed by: 199–227, "All Plots against God and his People Detected and Defeated, as it was delivered in a Sermon at a Fast Kept by the first gathered Church in Boston, Jan. 25, 1682."

1685.

The New-England | Almanack | For | The Year of our Lord 1685. | And of the World 5633. | Since the planting of Massachusetts | Colony in New-England 53 | Since the

found. of Harv. Coll. 44. | Whereof the Golden Number, Epact and Cycle of the Sun | are 15. and the Dominicall Letters C. B. Being in | our Account the third from Leap Year. | [Fourteen lines, Contents of the Almanack.] | By S. D. Philomath. | [Two lines from Job xxxviii. 33; two lines from Psal. xc. 12.] ‖ Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green, sen. Printer to Harvard | Colledge in New-England. A. D. 1685. 16mo. pp. (17).

Title-page, *verso*; 2 pp. "Ad Librum"; 12 pp. March to February; at bottom of last page, "Since the Impression for February, wee hear of the deplorable decease of the R^d^ & Aged Mr Thomas Cobbet Minister at Ipswich and of the R^d^ Mr Nathaniel Chauncy Minister at Hatfield"; 1 p. Eclipses. While this almanack is for 1686 the imprint is 1685.

The | Church | Of | Rome | Evidently Proved | Heretick, | By Peter Berault, Dr. | Who abjured all the Errors of the | said Church in London at the | Savoy upon the 2^d^ day of | April 1671. | [One line Latin from Iraneus Lib. 5, Cap. 17.] ‖ Boston, | Printed by S. Green for James Cowse: | 1685. 16mo. pp. (5), 53.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3 pp. Dedication, "To the Right Reverend Lord, Henry, Bishop of London, Dean of His Majesties Chappel, and one of His most Honourable Privy Council"; 1–53, "The Roman Church Evidently proved Heretick."

Mamusse | Wunneetupanatamwe | Up-Biblum God | Naneeswe | Nukkone Testament | KahWonk | WUSKU Testament. | Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ | noh asoowesit | John Eliot, | Nalıohtœu ontchetœ Printeuoomuk, ‖ Cambridge | Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green. MDCLXXXV.

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso* blank, preceded by the dedication to the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., Governour, &c., which is believed to be in fac-simile. The Old Testament is followed by the New Testament of the edition of 1680. For full description see Wilberforce Eames's "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible."

The Protestant T[utor] | For | Childr[en.] | The Doner thereof [. . .] | Health and Persev [. . .] | the Gospel in Jesus Christ, | To which is added Verses made by Mr. John Rogers a Martyr in Queen Maries Reign. | [Five lines from I. Kings xviii. 21.] ‖ Boston in New England, Printed by Samuel Green, and are to be Sold by John Griffin | in Boston 16[8]5. 32mo. pp. (19).

Very imperfect, every page more or less mutilated. Sabin calls it the only known copy. On fly-leaf in MS.: "William Giddens his Booke, God give him grace therein to look, that he may run that blessed race that heaven may be his dwelling place. Ano domyny." The name of Joseph Ayers, 1722, is on back of page 20, also on last page.

1686.

A Brief | Discourse | of | Justification | Wherein | This Doctrine is plainly laid down ac- | cording to the Scriptures; | As it was Delivered in several Ser- | mons on this Subject. | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | [Five lines from Phil. iii. 9; six lines Latin.] ‖ Boston, Printed by S. G. for Samuel Phillips | at the West end of the Town house, [1686]. Sm. 8vo. pp. (5), 168.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "To the Reader," signed S. Willard; blank page; 1–168, text.

The title-page is slightly imperfect, a portion of the above from Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. II., p. 28.

The | Call of the Gospel | Applyed | Unto All Men in general, | and | unto a Condemned Malefactor in particular. | In | A Sermon | Preached on the 7th d of the 1st m. 1686. | At the Request, and in the Hearing of a man | under a just Sentence of Death for the hor | rid Sin of Murder. | By Cotton Mather. | Pastor to a Church at Boston in N. E. | [Three lines from Psal. lxxxix. 1; two lines Latin.] ‖ Printed at Boston, by R. P. Anno Supradict. pp. (2), 54, (1).

Title-page, *verso*; 1 p. "To the Reader," signed Cotton Mather; 1–54, "The Call of the Gospel," &c.; blank page. In same volume, with continuous pagination:

An | Exhortation | To a Condemned | Malefactor | Delivered March 7 168$\frac{5}{6}$ | By Joshua Moodey, Preacher | of the Gospel at Boston in N. England. | [Four lines from Ezek. xxxiii. 9; three lines from Josh. vii. 19; six lines from Isai. lv. 6, 7.] ‖ Printed at Boston in N. England. Anno prædict. 16mo. pp. (2), (2), 34.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed Joshua Moody. pp. 61–94.

Our Dying Saviour's | Legacy of Peace. | To His Disciples in a troublesome | World, from John xiv. 27 | My Peace I give unto you, &c. | Also a | Discourse | On the Two WITNESSES: | Shewing that it is the Duty of all Christians | to be Witnesses unto Christ, from Rev. xi. 3. | I will give to my two Witnesses, &c: | Unto which is added, | Some Help to Self-Examination. | By John Higginson Pastor of the Church in | Salem. | [Four lines from II. Pet. i. 14, 15.] ‖ Boston, Printed by Samuel Green for John | Usher near the Town-House, 1686. 16mo. pp. (13), (1), 205, (1).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 7 pp. "To the Church and People of God at Salem; also at Guilford and Say Brook: Grace unto you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," signed John Higginson, Salem, August 6, 1686; blank page; 3 pp. "Christian Reader," signed "Of him who is a Well-wisher to Israels Peace, Samuel Willard"; blank page; 1–205, text; blank page; 1 p. Advertisement between ornamental lines, "There is now ready for the Press, and will shortly be Printed a small Treatise about Justification, by the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard, Teacher at the South Church in Boston."

The Greatest | Sinners | Exhorted and Encouraged | To Come to Christ, and that | Now | Without Delaying. | Also, The Exceeding Danger of men's De- | ferring their Repentance. | Together with a Discourse about The Day | of Judgement. And on several | other Subjects. | By Increase Mather. | Teacher of a Church at Boston in New-England. | [Three lines from Eccles. xii. 13; three lines from Acts xx. 21.] ‖ Boston in N. E. Printed by R. P. for Joseph | Brunning at his Shop near the Exchange. 1686. pp. (6), 146, (2), (2), (1).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed Increase Mather, Boston in N. E. Feby. 24 168$\frac{5}{6}$; 1–146, Sermons; 1 p. "The Contents," and blank page; 1 p. *Errata* 11 lines; blank page. On last page, "Books printed for, and sold by Joseph Brunning at his Shop at the Corner of Prison Lane next the Exchange." Five titles, one of which is "An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing, Drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures by the Ministers of Boston."

A | Sermon | Occasioned by the Execution | of a Man found Guilty of | Murder: | Preached at Boston in New-England, March 11th | 168$\frac{6}{5}$. | [*sic*] (Together with the Confession, Last Expressions | and Solemn Warning of that Murderer, to all | Persons; Especially to *Young Men*, to beware | of those Sins which brought him to his Mise | rable End.) | By Increase Mather, Teacher of a | Church of Christ. | [Four lines from Deut. xix. 20, 21; two lines from Prov. xxviii. 17.] ‖ Boston Printed by Joseph Brunning Book | seller, & are to be sold at his Shop cor | ner of the Prison Lane, next the Town-House | Anno 1686. pp. (4), 44.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed Increase Mather, March 26, 1686; at top of page 1 five lines from Numb. xxxv. 16; 1–44, Sermon; *Errata* four lines on last page. The Society has also the London edition of 1691.

1687.

A Sermon | Occasioned by the Execution of | A man found Guilty of | Murder | Preached at Boston in N. E. March 11th 168$\frac{5}{6}$ | (Together with the *Confession*, Last *Expressions*, | & Solemn *Warning* of that Murderer to all per- | sons; *especially* to *Young* men, to beware of *those* | Sins which brought him to his *miserable* End.) | By Increase Mather, Teacher of | Church of Christ. | The Second Edition. | [Five lines Deut. xix. 20, 21; two lines from Prov. xxviii. 17.] ‖ Boston, Printed by R. P. Sold by J. Brunning | Bookseller, at his Shop at the Corner of the | Prison-Lane next the Exchange. Anno. 1687. 16mo. pp. (4), 36.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Reader"; 1–36, Sermon. Followed by:

The | Call of the Gospel, | Applyed | Unto All Men in General, and | Unto a Condemned Malefactor in particular, | In a Sermon, Preached on the 7th | Day of March, 1686. | At the Request, and in the Hearing of a man under | a just sentence of Death for the horrid Sin of | Murder. | By Cotton Mather. | Pastor of a Church at Boston in N. E. | The Second Edition. | [Three lines from Psal. lxxxix. 1; two lines Latin.] ‖ Printed at Boston by Richard Pierce, 1687. pp. (46.)

Title-page, *verso*; 1 p. "To the Reader," signed Cotton Mather; 39–82, "The Call of the Gospel." Followed by:

"An | Exhortation | To a Condemned | Malefactor | Delivered March the 7th 1686. | By Joshua Moody, Preacher of | the Gospel at Boston in New England. | [Three lines Ezek. xxxiii. 9; three lines Josh. vii. 19, and six lines Isa. lv. 6, 7.] ‖ Printed at Boston, by R. P. Anno. 1687." pp. 43.

Title-page, *verso*, "To the Reader." pp. 85–124.

The | Safety of Appearing at the | Day of | Judgement, | In the Righteousness of Christ: | Opened and Applied. | By Solomon Stoddard, Pastor to the | Church of North-Hampton in New- | England. | [Nine lines from Phil. iii. 8, 9.] ‖ Boston, Printed by Samuel Green, for | Samuel Phillips. 1687. 16mo. pp. (2), (5), (1), 351, (2).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 5 pp. "To the Church of Christ in North-Hampton"; blank page; ornamental head-piece; 1–351, "The Safety of Appearing in the Righteousness of Christ"; blank page; 2 pp. at the end "Books to be sold by Samuel Phillips at the West end of the Town House in Boston."

1688.

Articles | Agreed upon by the | Archbishops and Bishops | of both Provinces, and the whole | Clergy | In the Convocation holden at London | In the Year MDLXII. | For the avoiding of Diversities of Opinions. and for the | Stablishing of Consent touching True Religion. [Large cut of Coat of Arms of Great Britain] ‖ Printed in the year MDCLXXXVIII. 4to. pp. (2), 14.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 1–14, ornamental head-piece, "Articles of Religion." Place of publication not given, but in MS. at bottom of title-page, "At Boston N. E. by Richard Pierce." Sabin in his list also gives it as printed at Boston.

An | Exposition | On the | Church-Catechism: | Or the | Practice | of | Divine Love. | Composed | For the Diocese of Bath & Wells. | London. | Printed for Charles Brome, at the West-end of St. Paul's, | and William Clarke in Winchester 1685. ‖ Boston in New-England, | Reprinted by Richard Pierce Anno Domini | MDCLXXXVIII. 4to. pp. (2), (4), 120, (1).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3 pp. "Epistle Dedicatory"; blank page; 1–104, "An Exposition on the Church Catechism"; 105–120, Direction for Prayer taken out of the Church Catechism; 1 p. *Errata.*

1689.

Small Offers | Towards the Service of the Tabernacle | in the Wilderness. | Four Discourses, accommodated unto the Designs of | Practical | Godliness. | The First, Concerning the Methods wherein men | ought to Engage both Themselves and their | Houses in the service of God. | The Second, Concerning the Right and Best waies | of Redeeming Time in the World. | The Third, Concerning the *Carriage* which we | should have under Trials used by God upon us. | The Fourth, Concerning the End which in | our Desires of Life, we should propound unto ourselves. | Preached partly at Boston, partly at Charleston. | By Cotton Mather. | Pastor of a Church in Boston. | Published by a Gentleman lately Restored from threat- | ning sickness; as an humble essay to Serve | the interest of Religion, in Gratitude unto God | for his Recovery. ‖ Printed by R. Pierce, Sold by Jos. Brunning at his | Shop near the Exchange in Boston. MDCLXXXIX. 16mo. pp. (2), (6), 128.

Title-page, *verso*, *Errata* four lines; 6 pp. "The Epistle Dedicatory to John Phillips, Esq."; 1–128, "The Good Man's Resolution." Imperfect, pages 23 and 24, 45 and 46 wanting.

Sampwutteahae | Quinnuppekompauaenin. | Wahuwômœk oggussemesuog Sampwutteahâe | Wunnamptamwaenuog, | Mache wussukhûmun ut English-Mâne Unnontœwaonk nashpe | Né muttâe-wunnegenûe Wuttinneumoh Christ | Noh asœwesit | Thomas Shepard | Quinnuppenumun en Indiane Unnontœwaonganit nashpe | Ne Quttianatamwe wuttinneumoh Christ | Noh assowesit | John Eliot. | Kah nawhutche ut aiyeuongash oggussemese ontcheteanun | Nashpe | Grindal Rawson. | [Three lines from Matt. xxiv. 14; three lines from Rom. x. 14, 15, and two lines from Matt. xxviii. 19, in the Indian language.] ‖ Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green, in the Year 1689. Sm. 8vo. pp. (2), (2), 161.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2nd leaf on *recto* (Introduction); 2 pp. "Anakausuongane Petutteaonk"; 1–161, text. In MS. on fly-leaf, "Mr. Mayhew tells me, this is Mr Shepards 'Sincere Convert,' and the Tract at the end is Mr Cotton's 'Milk for Babes.' Thos. Prince." See under date 1691 for description of the last named. The volume was presented to the Antiquarian Society by Capt. Joseph Ingersol, March, 1805. J. Hammond Trumbull in his "Indian Missions in New England," says, "This is the last of Eliot's translations which was printed in his life-time."

Water-Baptism | Plainly proved by | SCRIPTURE | to be A | *Gospel Precept.* | By Pardon Tillinghast, a servant of | Jesus Christ. ‖ Printed in the Year 1689. pp. (2), 17.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–17. No place given, but in MS. on title-page is added, "Boston N. E."

Work upon the Ark. | Meditations upon the | Ark | As a Type of the Church; | Delivered in a | Sermon | at Boston, | And now Dedicated unto the service of All, | but especially of those whose Concerns Lye in | Ships. | By Cotton Mather. | [Two lines Latin; one line Greek; two lines Latin.] ‖ Boston | Printed by Samuel Green and Sold | by Joseph Browning at the Corner of | the Prison Lane. 1689. 16mo. pp. (2), (8), 44.

Title-page, *verso*, ten lines Latin; 8 pp. Introduction; 1–44, "Work upon the Ark." Imperfect, some pages missing.

1690.

Echantillon. | De la Doctrine que les Jésuites enségnent | aus Sauvages du Nouveau Monde, pour les convertir tirée de | leurs propres Manuscrits trouvés ces Jours passes en Albanie | Proche de Nieuyorke. | Examineé | Par Ezechiel Carrè cy deuant Ministre de la Rochechalais en | France, â present Ministre de l' Eglise Française de Boston en | la Nouvelle Angleterre. | Eprouvès les Espirits S'ils sont de Dieu. | 1 Jean. 4. 1. ‖ Imprimé á Boston par Samuel Green. 1690. 4to. pp. (2), (6), 11, (1).

Title-page, *verso* has book-plate of Isaiah Thomas; 3 pp. Preface du Docte et Reverend Ministre | Monsieur Cotton Mather pour Servir d'aprobation au pre | sent ecrit. | ; 2 pp. A Méssieurs. Méssieurs Les Anciéns de L'eglise Françoise de Boston, | [signed] "A'Boston ce 12 May, 1690. Carré Ministre"; blank page; 1–11, "Enchantillon"; last page advertisement.

Holwell's | Predictions: | of Many Remarkable things, which may | Probably Come to Pase, from the Year | 1689. Untill the Year 1700. | Written 1682 ‖ Cambridge, Printed by S. G. for Benjamin Harris, at | the London Coffee-House at Boston. 1690. 16mo. pp. (14).

Title, top of page one, then follows, "Of the Astrological Judgement of the Year 1689" and each year to 1699 inclusive. pp. 1–14.

A | Refutation | of | Three Opposers of Truth, | By plain Evidence of the holy Scripture, | Viz. | 1. Of Pardon Tillinghast who pleadeth for Water Baptism, | its being a Gospel-Precept, and opposeth Christ within, as a false | Christ. To which is added, something concerning the Supper, &c | II. Of B. Keech, in his Book called, A Tutor for Children, | where he disputeth against the Sufficiency of the Light within, in | order to Salvation; and calleth Christ in the heart, a false Christ | in the secret Chamber. | III. Of Cotton Mather, who in his Appendix to his Book, | called, Memorable Providences, relating to Witchcrafts, &c doth so | weakly defend his

Father Increase Mather from being justly charge- | able with abusing the honest People called Quakers, that he doth | the more lay open his Fathers Nakedness; and beside the Abuses | and Injuries that his Father had cast upon that People, C Mather, the Son, | addeth new Abuses of his own. | And a few Words of a Letter to John Cotton, called a Minister | at Plymouth in New England. | By George Keith. | [Two lines from Zephaniah iii. 4.] ‖ Philadelphia, Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Anno 1690. Sq. 8vo. pp. (2), 73.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 1–72, "Water Baptism No Gospel Precept," &c.; p. 73, "Here follow a few words of a Letter to John Cotton, called a Minister at Plymouth in New-England," signed "G. K."

1691.

Tulley. 1691. | An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, | MDCXCI. | Being Third after Leap-Year; and | From the Creation | 5640 | The Vulgar notes of which are |

Golden Numb	1	Cicle of the Sun	20
The Epact	11	Domin Letter	U

Calculated for, and fitted to the Meridian of | Boston in New England where the North | Pole is Elevated 42 gr 30 min. | By John Tulley. ‖ Cambridge. | Printed by Samuel Green, and B. Green. | And are to be Sold, by Nicholas Buttolph, at Gutteridg's Coffee-House in Boston. 1691. 16mo. pp. (16).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, "Of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon"; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. Prognostickes or Presages of the Weather by the Sun, Moon & Stars; at bottom of last page, "A Table of Expense."

The Danger of Taking God's Name | in | Vain, | As it was Delivered in a | Sermon. | By Samuel Willard, Teacher of a Church | in Boston. | [Three lines from Mal. i. 14; three lines from Levit. xix. 12.] ‖ Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and | John Allen, at the London Coffee-House | 1691. 16mo. pp. (2), 30.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–30.

Nashauanittue Meninnunk | Wutch | Mukkiesog, | Wussesè-mumun wutch Sogkodtunganash | Naneeswe Testamentsash; | Wutch | Ukkesitchippœonganœ. Ukketeahogkounooh: | Negonáe wussukhùmun ut Englishmánne Unnon- | tœowaonganit, nashpe ne ánue, wunnegenùe | Nohtompeantog. | Noh asœowèsit | John Cotton. | Kah yeuyeu qushkinnumun en Indiane Unnontœo- | waonganit wutch œonenehikqunàout Indiane | Mukkiesog, | Nashpe | Grindal Rawson, | Wunnaunchemookáe Nohtompeantog ut Kenugke | Indianog. | [Two lines from I. Pet. ii. 2, in Indian.] ‖ Cambridge: | Printeuœop nashpe Samuel Green kah | Bartholomew Green. 1691. 8vo. pp. 13.

Title-page, *verso* blank; pp. 3–13. This is John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for Babes drawn from the Breasts of both Testaments, for the Nourishment of their Souls.

Old Mens | Tears | For their own | Declensions, | Mixed with | Fears | of their Posterities further falling | off from New-England's | Primitive Constitution. | Published by some of Bostons old | Planters | And some other. | [Six lines from Psal. lxxviii. 3, 4.] ‖ Boston, Printed by Benjamin Harris, and | John Allen: and are to be Sold at the | London Coffee-House. 1691. pp. (2), (4), (26).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed S. S.; 1–26, "Old Mens Tears." Imperfect, six pages wanting.

The | Revolution | in | New England | Justified, | and the People there Vindicated | from the Aspersions cast upon | them | by Mr. John Palmer, | in his Pretended Answer to the | Declaration, | Published by the Inhabitants of Boston, and the | Country adjacent, on the day when they se- | cured their late Oppressors, who acted by an | Illegal and Arbitrary Commission from the | Late King James. ‖ Printed for Joseph Brunning at Boston | in New England, 1691. 4to. pp. (4), (55).

Title-page wanting in Society's copy; the above is from Sabin's Dictionary, Vol. XI., No. 46731. "To the Reader," four pages, signed E. R. and S. S., which Palfrey says undoubtedly repre-

sent Edward Rawson and Samuel Sewall; 1–47, "The Revolution in New England Justified"; p. 48 Note to "Reader"; after Finis; 1 p. "To the Reader,"—"B. N. E. Feby. 4, 169$\frac{2}{1}$." A MS. memorandum on the title-page of this edition attributes the authorship to Increase Mather, but he probably had nothing to do with it. In Thomas's edition it is said to be "By Several Gentlemen who were of his [King James's] Council." This was reprinted by Isaiah Thomas in 1783 with the addition of "A Narrative of the Proceedings of Sir Edmund Androsse and his Accomplices, who also acted by an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission from the late King James," etc.

1692.

Tulley, | 1692. | An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, | MDCXCII. | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year, | And from the Creation, | 5641. | Amplified with Astronomical Observations | from the Suns Ingresse into Aries, and | the other Cardinal Points, and from | the Planets and their Aspects; with | an Account of the Eclipses, Conjunctions, | and other Configurations of the | Cœlestial Bodies. | Calculated for and fitted to the Meridian of | Boston in New England where the North | Pole is Elevated 42 gr. 30 min. But may | indifferently serve any part of New England. | By John Tulley. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, & Bartholomew Green, | for Samuel Phillips, and are to be Sold | at his Shop at the West end of the | Exchange in Boston. 1692. pp. (24).

Title-page, with an ornamental border, *verso*, "Explanation of the use of the Following Table"; 1 p. A table signifying the hour of the sun's rising, hour of its setting, &c.; 1 p. "1692 The Vulgar Notes of this Year are Golden number 2. Cicle of the Sun 21. The Epact 22. Domin Letters C. B. The Names and Characters of the Seven Planets. Directions for the use of the following Ephemeris"; 12 pp. January to December; 5 pp. Astronomical Observations of the Weather and Winds from the Planets and other Aspects; 2 pp. Of the Eclipses; 1 p. Advertisement. "There may Speedily be Published a little Book, Entitled, Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion, Or the Character

& Happiness of a Vertuous Woman: A Discourse which with an Acceptable Variety may entertain women of all qualities, & in all Conditions, with such Things as may Conduce to their Temporal & Eternal Welfare. By a Reverend Divine of Boston. Sold by Samuel Phillips."

Several | Acts | and | Laws | Passed by the Great and General Court or | Assembly of Their Majesties Province | of the Massachusetts-Bay, in | New England. | Convened and Held at Boston, the Eighth Day of June, 1692 | Anno Regni Gulielmi, et Mariæ, Regis et Reginæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, | Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Quarto. | [Ornament of nine pieces type, oblong shape.] ‖ Boston, | Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to His Excellency, | the Governour and Council, 1692. Folio. pp. (18).

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–16. 2 blank pages. In the same volume is another series of the Acts and Laws passed from June 8 to Oct. 12, 1692, as given by Dr. Green under that date, except, that, before the title page is the following: "By His Excellency. | I order Benjamin Harris to Print the | Acts and Laws made by the Great and | General Court, or Assembly of this Their | Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay | in New-England, that so the People may | be Informed thereof. William Phips. Boston, December 16, 1692."

After title page 1 p. "The Contents," and a blank page.

The | Charter | Granted by their Majesties | King William | And | Queen Mary | To The | Inhabitants | of the | Province | Of The | Massachusets-Bay, | in | New-England. ‖ Printed at London, and Re-Printed at Boston, in New-England, By | Benjamin Harris, Over-against the Old-Meeting-House, 1692. Sm. folio. pp. (2), 13.

Title-page, *verso* blank. "The Charter." pp. 1–13.

The Map of Man's Misery | Or, The | Poor Man's Pocket-Book: | Being a | Perpetual Almanac | Of | Spiritual Meditations: | or | Compleat Directory | For one Endless Week. |

Childhood,		Monday.
Youth,		Tuesday.
Manhood,		Wednesday.
Old Age,		Thursday.
Death,	for	Friday.
Judgement		Saturday.
Eternity		Lords-day.

Containing | Many useful Instructions, Exhortations, | and Prayers, with precious Remedies | Against Satan's Devices; Plainly | Shewing every Christian so to Walk, | that he may please God. | [Two lines from Rom. vii. 24.] ‖ Boston, Printed for Samuel Phillips [1692]. pp. (2), (2), 138.

Title-page, *verso*, Lines on the Misery of Man; 2 pp. Dedication "To the Right Honourable Rachel, Lady Russel"; 1–138, "A Perpetual Almanack of Spiritual Meditations." The page before title is imperfect but has an astronomical illustration with twelve lines in verse.

Blessed Unions | An Union | With the Son of God by | Faith | And, an Union | In the Church of God by | Love | Importunately Pressed; in a | Discourse | which makes Divers offers for those *Unions*, | Together with | A copy of those Articles where-upon a most | Happy Union, | has been lately made | between those two Eminent Parties in | England, which have now Changed | the Names of Presbyterians, and | Congregationals, for that of | United Bretheren. | By Cotton Mather. | How long did our Fathers sow in Tears for | this Harvest? God hath Reserved the Reaping | Time for us their Children: and therefore let | us Joy before Him, according to the joy in [. . .] | Mr. Meads Excellent Sermon, on The Two | Made one. ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green & [. . .] | for Samuel Phillips. 1692. 12mo. pp. (2), (8), 86, (12).

Title-page, *verso*, an address "To the Bretheren of the Church in the North part | of Boston." | ; 8 pp. Dedication, "To the Very Reverend Mathew Mead, John How, and Increase Mather," etc. pp. 1–86. "Heads of an Agreement Assented to by the United Ministers formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational." pp. 1–12.

Fair Weather. | Or | Considerations | to Dispel | the Clouds, & Allay the Storms: | of | Discontent: | in a | Discourse | which with | an Entertaining Variety, both of Ar | gument and History, lays open the | Nature and Evil of that Per | nicious Vice, and offers diverse | Antidotes against it. | By Cotton Mather, | Whereto there is Prefixed a Catalogue of | sins against all the Commandments, whereof | all that would make thorough work of Repen | tance, especially at this Day when the God of | Heaven so Loudly calls for it, should make | their Serious and Sensible Confessions before | the Lord; with an Humble and Fervent Ad | dress unto this whole People, there about. ‖ Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, and | John Allen, for Benjamin Harris at the | London Coffee House 1692. pp. (2), 92.

Title-page, *verso*, Preface; 1–28, "An Humble and Faithful Testimony For God, unto the Children of My People," signed "Cotton Mather"; 29–82, "A Sacred Exorcism, upon Sinful Discontent"; 83–92, "A Narrative of a Very Tragical Accident, which happened while the foregoing Treatise was in the Press"; at bottom of page 92, "Epitaph" on [Rev. Shubael] Dummer. One page wanting.

The Great | Day | of | Judgement | Handled | In a Sermon Preached at the | Assizes at New Bristol. | Octob. 7, 1687. | By the Reverend and Learned | Samuel Lee, M. A. | sometimes Fellow of | Wadham Colledge | in Oxon. | Accompany'd | with Preparatory Meditations, upon | The Day of Judgement: | By Mr. Cotton Mather. ‖ Boston in New England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, for | Nicholas Buttolph, at the Corner of | Gutteridg's Coffee-House. 1692. Price Bound 1s. 16mo. pp. 36.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–36, "Preparatory Meditations upon the Day of Judgment." Followed by:

A Summons | or Warning | to the Great Day of | Judgement | in a | Sermon | Preach'd at the Assizes at Bristol | in New-England, Octobo. 7, 1687 | now somewhat Amplified and | Fitted to the service of others. | [Four lines from Luke

xxi. 36, and five lines from "A Kempis de Imit Christi."] | By Samuel Lee, M. A. and some- | times Fellow of Wadham Coll. in Oxon. ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green, for | N Buttolph, at the Corner of Gutteridg's | Coffee-House. 1692. Price Bound 1 s. 16mo.

Title-page, *verso* blank. This is an imperfect copy, many leaves wanting. There appears to have been an introductory epistle of eleven pages, signed Samuel Lee. Last page in this copy is 46.

The | Jacobites Catechism, | That is to say, | An Instruction to be learned of every Person | who either desires, or expects to be confirmed by | the late Bishop of Ely | To which is Added, | The | Williamites Catechism, | Or, | Instructions to be learned of all those who | are Well-wishers to the Protestant Religion, and the | English Liberties. | Both Written by Benjamin Bird, Rector of Wotton fits | Pain, near Lyme Regis in the County of Dorset. | Licensed according to Order. ‖ London, Printed for T. Wesly, and Re-printed at Boston, | for Benjamin Harris, at the London-Coffee-House. | 1692. pp. (2), 14.

Title-page, *verso*, ornamental head-piece, "To the Bookseller," dated, Wotton, August 26, 1691, signed "I am King Williams Loyal Subject, and Your Real Friend, Philirenes Junior"; 1–14, "The Jacobites Catechism."

A Midnight Cry, An Essay for Our Awakening out of a Sinful Sleep, . . . A Discourse given on a Day of prayer, Kept by the North-Church in Boston. By Cotton Mather. ‖ Boston, Printed by John Allen for Sam. Phillips, 1692. 12mo. pp. 72.

Title-page wanting, the above is from Sabin's Dictionary, No. 46414. Several pages at beginning also missing. Preface, "I have ordered a Small Impression, . . . So that perhaps I may say of this Book, as the Philosopher did of his, ''Tis Published, but scarce made Public.'" Last page "A Catalogue of some other books." Twenty-three titles, "All by this Author."

Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion. | Or | The Character and Happiness | of a | Vertuous Woman: | in A | Discourse | which Directs | The Female Sex how to Express, | The Fear of God, in every | Age and State of their Life; and | Obtain both Temporal and Eternal | Blessedness. | Written by Cotton Mather. | Tertullian's advice for the Ornaments | of Women. | [Eleven lines in Latin and English.] ‖ Cambridge: Printed by S. G. & | B. G. for Samuel Phillips at Boston, 1692. 16mo. pp. (2), 104.

"The Preface"; 3–104, "Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion." Several pages missing. Another edition lacks title-page. There is also the 3d ed., Boston, 1741.

A | Serious Appeal | To all the more Sober, Impartial & Judicious People | In | New-England | To whose Hands this may come, | Whether *Cotton Mather* in his late *Address*, &c hath not | extreamly failed in proving the People Call'd *Quakers* guilty | of manifold Heresies, Blasphemies and strong Delusions, | and whether he hath not much rather proved himself ex- | treamly Ignorant and greatly possessed with a Spirit of | Perversion, Error, Prejudice and envious Zeal against them | in general, and G. K. in particular, in his most uncharit- | able and rash Judgement against him. | Together with a Vindication of our | Christian Faith | In those Things Sincerely Believed by us, especially respect | ing the Fundamental Doctrines and Principles of | Christian Religion. | By George Keith. ‖ Printed and Sold by William Bradford at Philadelphia in Pennsyl- | vania, in the Year 1692. 4to. pp. (2), (2), (67).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "A few Words of Preface"; 1–67, text.

Some | Reasons and Causes | of the | Late Separation | That hath come to pass at Philadelphia be- | twixt us, called by some the Seperate Meeting, | And Others that meet apart from us. | More particularly opened to Vindicate and Clear us | and our Testimony in that respect, viz, That the Sepe- | ration lyeth at their Door, and They (and not VVe) are |

justly chargeable with it. | With | An Apology for the present Publication of these Things. | [Three lines from Rom. xvi. 17; three lines from I. Tim. vi. 3; three lines from II. Cor. vi. 14, 17; three lines from Rev. ii. 20.] 8vo. pp. 36.

Title-page, *verso* An Apology for the present Publication of these Things | pp. 2–19. Postscript. pp. 20–36. Bottom of last page, signed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Helliard, Thomas Hooton, Henry Furnis. No imprint, but Sabin says "Printed by Wm. Bradford at Philadelphia, 1692." Also given in Hildeburn's, "A Century of Printing," as printed at Philadelphia.

Truth and Innocency | Defended | Against | Calumny and Defamation, | In a late Report spread abroad concerning the | Revolution | Of | Humane Souls, | With a further Clearing up of the Truth, by a | plain Explication of my Sence, &c. | By George Keith. | [Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1692.] 4to. pp. 20.

The text begins at the bottom of page one under the title. pp. 1–20. No imprint, but in list of "Books lately printed" at the end of Keith's "Some Fundamental Truths of Christianity," it is given as above. See Sabin's Dictionary (IX., 412). Bound up in the same volume with the above is "A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Barmudas," given in Dr. Green's list, and other tracts relating specially to the Quakers, most of which were printed in London. At the end of the volume is one entitled, "The Notes of the True Church with the Application of them to the Church of England and the great Sin of Seperation from Her. Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Trinity Church in New-York, Before the Administration of the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper. The 7th of November, 1703. By George Keith, M. A. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the Sign of the Bible in New-York, 1704."

1693.

Acts | and | Laws, | Passed by the Great and General Court | or Assembly of Their Majesties Pro- | vince of the Massachusets-Bay, in | New-England. | Begun at *Boston* the

Eighth Day of *June*, 1692, and Con- | tinued by several Adjournments unto *Wednesday* the Eighth | of *February* following, being the Third Sessions. | Anno Regni, Gulielmi, et Mariæ, Regis et Reginæ, Angliæ, | Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Quarto, et Quinto. | [Arms of Great Britain.] ‖ Boston | Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to His Excellency, | the Governour and Council, 1693. Folio. pp. 6.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 1–6, "Acts and Laws."

An | Act | Passed by the Great and General Court | or Assembly of Their Majesties Prov- | vince of the Massachusets Bay, in | New-England. | Begun at *Boston* the Eighth Day of June 1692, and Con- | tinued by several Adjournments unto *Thursday* the Second | of *March* following, being the Fourth Sessions, | Anno Regni, Gulielmi et Mariæ, [etc.] | [Colonial Coat of Arms.] ‖ Boston | Printed by Benjamin Harris, Printer to his Excellency, | the Governour and Council 1693. Folio. pp. (2), 2.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–2.

A Challenge to Caleb Pusey, and a Check to | his Lyes & Forgeries, &c. 4to. pp. 4.

No imprint on Society's copy. Sabin's Dictionary says printed by Wm. Bradford at New York 1693; Dr. Haven says "Printed by Wm. Bradford unquestionably at New York." There is postscript signed Daniel Leeds.

New-England's Spirit of Persecution | Transmitted To | Pennsilvania, | And the Pretended Quaker found Persecuting the Free | Christian-Quaker | in the | Tryal | of | Peter Bors, George Keith, Thomas Budd, | and William Bradford, | at the Sessions held at Philadelphia the Nineth, Tenth, and | Twelfth Days of December 1692. Giving an Account | of the Most Arbitrary Proceedure of that Court. ‖ Philadelphia | Printed [by William Bradford,] in the year 1693. 16mo. pp. (38).

Title-page wanting. The above is from Sabin's Dictionary, and is also given by Hildeburn. "Introduction." pp. (1–38). At the bottom of page 1, in MS., "Printed by William Bradford and perhaps the first book printed at New York." Hildeburn says of this publication: "In the three copies of the tract which I have met with, a sentence on page 7 and two on page 8 have been carefully obliterated with pen and ink. . . . In the London edition these lines are left blank." In the copy belonging to the Antiquarian Society a line on page 7 and nearly three lines on page 8 have been erased with pen and ink. Bound up in the same volume with the above tract is:

The | Pretended Yearly Meeting | Of the | Quakers, | Their | Nameless Bull | Of | Excommunication | Given forth against George Keith, [&c.] | Printed for R. Levis 1695. 4to. pp. 12. No place.

Rules | For the | Discerning | Of The | Present Times. | Recommended | To the People of God, in New-England. | In a | Sermon | Preached on the Lecture in Boston; No- | vember 27 1692. | By Samuel Willard. | Two lines from Eccl. viii. 5. ‖ Boston Printed by Benjamin Harris, over a- | gainst the Old Meeting House. 1693. 16mo. pp. 30.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–30.

Rules | For the Society of | Negroes, 1693. Broadside, folio. By Cotton Mather. p. 1.

This was reprinted, with an introduction by George H. Moore, in pamphlet form in 1888. Dr. Moore quotes from Mather Manuscript in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society the following: "Besides ye other praying and pious meetings, which I have been continually serving in o^r Neighborhood, a little after this Period, a company of poor Negroes, of their own Accord, Addressed mee, for my Countenance to a Design wch they had, of erecting such a Meeting for ye Welfare of their miserable Nation, that were Servants among us. I allowed their

design and went one Evening & prayed & preached [on Ps. 68, 31], wth them: and gave them the following orders, wch I insert duly for ye curiositie of ye occasion."

The | Spirit | Of | Man: | or, | Some Meditations (by way of Essay) on | the Sense of that Scripture. | [Four lines from I. Thes. v. 23.] | By Charles Morton, Minister of the Gospel | at Charlestown in New-England. | [One line Mal. iii. 16; two lines Luke xix. 55.] ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Harris, for Duncan | Campbell, at the Dock-Head, over a- | gainst the Conduit. 1693. 16mo, pp. (8), 100.

Title-page, *verso*, *Errata;* 7 pp. "The Contents"; 1–34, "The Spirit of Man." Several pages missing.

Unum Necessarium. | Awakenings | for the | Unregenerate | or | the Nature and Necessity | of | Regeneration | Handled in a | Discourse designed for the Service of | any that may be thereby assisted in the | Grand Concern of Conversion | unto God; but especially the | Rising Generation. | With an Addition of some other Sermons relating | to that Important Subject. | By Cotton Mather. | [Five lines from Ezek. xxxvii. 3, 4.] ‖ Boston, Printed by B. H. for Duncan Campbell. | Bookseller at the Dock head *over against* the | Conduit. 1693. 16mo. pp. (2), (4), 164.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "Introduction"; 1–72, "Awakenings for the Unregenerate"; 73–105, "Good Counsel In Answer to the Great Question; What shall I do to be Saved?"; 105–138, "Plain Advice In Answer to that Hard Question Who are they that shall be Saved"; 139–164, "Whence 'tis that many miss of a Conversion and Salvation"; at bottom of last page (which is printed 154) four lines of *errata*.

Winter Meditations. | Directions How to employ the Liesure [*sic*] of the | Winter | For the Glory of God. | Accompanied with Reflections, as well *Historical*, | as *Theological*, not only upon the | Circumstances of the | Winter, | But also, upon the Notable Works of God, | Both in, | Creation and Providence: | Especially those, which more immediately

Con- | cern every Particular Man, in the whole course | of his Life: | And upon the Religious Works, wherewith e- | very Man should acknowledge God, in and | from the Accidents of the Winter. | By Cotton Mather. | With a Preface of the Reverend, | Mr John Higginson. ‖ Boston Printed and Sold by Benj. Harris [over] a | gainst the Old-Meeting-House. 1693. 16mo. pp. (2), (14), 82.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. "To the Right VVorshipful Sir John Hartop, Knight and Baronet"; 5 pp. "To the Reader"; 6 pp. "The Introduction"; 1–82, "Winter Meditations."

1694.

A | Chronological Account | Of The Several | Ages of the VVorld | From | Adam to Christ. | And from thence continued to the End of | the World; Showing, by Scripture Account | I. The Time of the Churches going into the Wilderness, her Con- | tinuance there, and Time of Return and full Restoration. | II. The Intervals of Time belonging to the seven Seals, seven Trum- | pets, and seven Vials, called, *The Seven last Plagues*, and the various | dreadful Effects that are like to ensue at the pouring forth of each | of the Vials, which is near at hand. | III. Concerning the Personal Anti-Christ yet to Come, and the Time | and Manner of his Appearance, and Continuance of his Reign. | IV. The Time of the Prophecying, Killing and Rising again of the | Two Witnesses, *Rev.* 9. | V. The Time of the Apperance of the Virgin Company, of 144000, | *Rev.* 14. | VI. The Time of the Angels flying through the midst of Heaven, | having the Everlasting Gospel to Preach. | VII. And *Lastly*, Concerning the Thousand Years Reign of the Saints | with Christ, yet to come, and the Time of beginning thereof, by | way of Essay and Hypothesis. | Printed in the Year 1694. 4to. pp. 30.

Title-page, *verso*, [four lines from I. Chron. i. 32; two lines from Luke xii. 56; one line, Matt. xvi. 3; fifteen lines, II. Pet. iii. 3–30]; A Scripture Chronology. Some pages missing.

The Law Established | By The | Gospel | Or | A Brief Discourse, wherein is | Asserted and Declared, the Great | Honour which is put upon the Law | of God, in the Gospel way of | Justification by Faith alone. | Being | The Substance of A | Sermon | Preached on the Lecture in | Boston, September 20, 1694. | By Samuel Willard | Teacher of a Church there. | [Three lines Matt. v. 7.] ‖ Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, for | Michael Perry, at the West-End | of the Exchange, 1694. | 16mo. pp. 39.

Title-page, *verso*, "Christian Readers," signed S. Willard; 3–39, "The Law Established by the Gospel."

A Short | Catechism | Composed | By Mr. James Noyes, | Late Teacher of the Church of | Christ in | Newbury, | in New-England. | For the use of the Children there. | [Ornamental type work.] ‖ Boston, | Printed by Bartholomew Green, 1694. 12mo. pp. 15.

Title-page, with ornamental border, *verso* blank. pp. 3–15. Not in Dr. Haven's list.

The Short History of New-England. | A | Recapitulation | of | Wonderful Passages | which have Occurr'd,—First in the Protections, and | then in the Afflictions, of | New England. | With A | Representation | Of *Certain Matters* Calling for the | Singular Attention of that Country. | Made at *Boston* Lecture, in the Audience | of the Great and General *Assembly* | of the Province of the *Massachu-* | *sett-Bay*, June 7, 1694. | By Cotton Mather. | [Four lines from I. Sam. xii. 7.] ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green, for | Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop, at | the West End of the Exchange, 1694. 16mo. pp. 67.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–67, text; two lines of *errata* at bottom of 67th page.

Truth Advanced | In The | Correction | Of Many | Gross & hurtful Errors; | Wherein is occasionally opened & explained many great and | peculiar Mysteries and Doctrines of the |

Christian Religion. | By George Keith. | Whereunto is added, | A Chronological Treatise of the several Ages | of the World: | Showing the Intervals, Time & Effects of the Seven Churches, | Seven Seals, Seven Trumpets, and seven Vials, called the seven last | Plagues, and the various dreadful Effects that are like to ensue at the | pouring forth of each of them, which is near at hand. | Together with an Account of the Time of the Churches going | into the Wilderness, her Return, full Restoration, and Universal | spreading of the glorious Gospel into all Nations of the Earth. | As also, the time of the Personal Anti-christ his Reign and last | Persecution; With the Time of the Prophecying, Killing and Rising | again of the two Witnesses. | And *Lastly* Concerning the Thousand Years Reign of the | Saints with Christ yet to Come, and time of beginning thereof, only | by way of Essay and Hypothesis. | Printed in the Year 1694. Sm. 4to. pp. (2), (8), 184.

Title-page, *verso* blank; no imprint, but Sabin gives it as printed by Wm. Bradford at Philadelphia; 2 pp. "The Contents"; 6 pp. "A Preface to the Friendly Reader," signed G. K.; at end of preface, "The Printers Advertisement," and four lines *errata;* 1–184, "Truth advanced above Error"; on fly-leaf autograph, "For Gersham Buckley in Connecticut Colony." This volume formerly belonged to the Worcester County Atheneum, as shown by their Ex-Libris and from MS. on title-page was presented by "Charles Wheeler, Worcester, Mss. 1814."

1695.

1695. | The New-England | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord Christ, | MDCXCV. | And of the World, | 5644. | Being the third after Leap-Year, and of | the Reign of Their Majesties (which | began Feby 13, 1688. 9) the Seventh year. | Calculated for the Meridian of Boston in | N. E. 69 deg 20 min. to the Westward of | London, and 42 deg. 30 min. North | Latitude, and may serve for all | New-England. | To which are added certain Impieties and | Absurdities in Tulley's Almanacks, giv | ing a truer Account of what may be | expected from Astrological Prædictions, | Together with

some choice, experimented, | cheap, easy and parable Receipts, of a | General Benefit to Country People. | By C. Lodowick, Physician. ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green, for S. Phillips at | the Brick Shop near the Old Meeting-house. 1695. 16mo. pp. 14.

Title-page, with ornamental border, *verso*, Vulgar notes of this Year & the Eclipses; 12 pp. January to December; 2 pp. "Concerning Astrological Predictions"; interleaved and extended with manuscript notes by Increase Mather. The Society also has copies of Tulley's almanacs for 1688, '93, '96, '97 and '98, interleaved and extended with manuscript notes of Increase Mather.

The | Answer | Of Several | Ministers | in and near | Boston, | To that Case of Conscience, | whether it is Lawful for a Man | to Marry his Wives own Sister? ‖ Boston in N. E. | Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green. | 1695. 12mo. pp. 9.

Title-page, *verso*, "To the Reader," and also page 3; 4–8, "Concerning the Case of Conscience," etc., signed by Increase Mather, Charles Morton, James Allen, Samuel Willard, James Sherman, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter; 1 p. enclosed between heavy lines, "Mrs Judith Hull of Boston in N. E. Daughter of Mr Edmund Quincey, late wife of John Hull, Esq. deceased. A Dilligent, Constant, Fruitfull Reader and Hearer of the Word of God, Rested from her Labours, June 22, 1695, being the seventh day of the week, a little before Sunset; just about the time she used to begin the Sabbath. Anno Ætatis suæ 69"; then follows an epitaph of 12 lines; p. 1. this appears to have been written by Increase Mather as stated in MS. on title-page. Another edition of "The Answer" was printed in 1711.

1696.

Angelographia, | Or | A Discourse | Concerning the Nature and Power of the | Holy Angels, and the Great Benefit | which the *True Fearers* of God Receive | by their Ministry; | Delivered in several | Sermons; | To which is added, | A

Sermon Concerning the *Sin* and | *Misery* of the *Fallen Angels;* | Also a Disquisition concerning | *Angelical-Apparitions.* | By Increase Mather, Præsident of Harvard | Colledge, in Cambridge, and Preacher of the | Gospel at Boston, in New-England. | [Two lines from Heb. i. 14.] ‖ Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green & J. Allen, | for Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop. 1696. 16mo. pp. (2), (14), 132.

Title-page, *verso*, four lines in Latin; 2 pp. "The Epistle Dedicatory To the Right Honourable Hugh Boscawen Esq., &c."; 12 pp. "To the Reader"; 1–103, "A Discourse Concerning the Power and Ministry of Holy Angels"; 104–132, "The Sin and Misery of the Fallen Angels." Autograph of Daniel Rogers; also on fly-leaf, signature of Rogers, also on the back of title-page, "Daniel Rogers his Book, August 12, 1794 Given by Mr Nicholas Brown."

A | Disquisition | Concerning | Angelical Apparitions, | In Answer to a Case of *Conscience*, | Shewing that Dœmons oft appear like | Angels of Light, and what is the best | and only way to prevent deception | by them. | All considered, according to the *Scripture*, | *Reason*, *Experience* and approved *History*. | By Increase Mather, Præsident of Harvard Colledge. | [Three lines from II. Cor. xi. 3; four lines Latin.] ‖ Boston | Printed for Samuel Phillips at the Brick Shop. 1696. 16mo. pp. 44.

Title-page, *verso*, beginning of "Disquisition."

Things for a Distress'd People to think upon. Offered in the Sermon to the General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, at the Anniversary Election, May 27, 1690. By Cotton Mather. Boston: Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Duncan Campbell, 1696. 16mo.

Title-page wanting, as also several pages of text. The title given above is taken from Sabin's Dictionary. In this copy pp. 74.

1697.

Copy of the Orders for Repealing of | several Acts. | At The | Court of Whitehall. | The 22d Day of August 1695. | Present | Their Excellencies the Lords Justices | in Council. This title is at top of page; then follows 2d page, "At the Court at Kinsington the 26 day of December 1695," &c. Sm. folio. pp. (3), (1).

The Order is signed William Bridgeman. Then follows "Memorandum, That the several Acts Entituled as follows, being disallowed of and repealed by Their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England in Council, have been Re-Enacted by the Great and General Court or Assembly of his Majesties, Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England, with Amendments, since the Receipt of the signification of the said Repeal, which was on the 13th day of July 1696." Then follow the titles of twelve Acts. At the bottom of the last printed page, "Boston in New-England. | Printed by Order of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governour | and Council; by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen. | 1697." Last page blank.

The | Believers happy Change | By | Dying | As it was Recommended in a Sermon | Preached, on the Occasion of the | Death of | Capt. Thomas Daniel Esq. | Who was interred the day before, | November 17th 1683. | By the Reverend Mr Joshua Moodey, | late Pastor of the Church of Christ | at Portsmouth in New-England, now | gone to Rest. | [Three lines from Isa. lvii. 2.] ‖ Boston in N. E. | Printed by B. Green and J. Allen. | 1697. 8vo. pp. 32.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–32, "The Heads of a Sermon," &c.

Phænomena quædam | Apocalyptica | Ad Aspectum Novi Orbis configurata. | Or, some few Lines towards a description of the New | Heaven, | As it makes to those who stand upon the | New Earth. | By Samuel Sewall, sometime Fellow of Harvard Colledge at | Cambridge in New-England. | [One line from Psal. xlv. 10; one line from Isai. xi. 14; two lines, Acts i. 6–8; one line from Spanish Bible; two lines,

Luke xv. 24, 32, and five lines Latin.] ‖ Massachuset; | Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen, | and are to be sold by Richard Wilkins 1697. 4to. pp. (2), (2), 60.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 2 pp. Dedication "To the Honorable Sir William Ashurst, Knight Governour, and the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Indians in New-England, and places adjacent in America"; 1–60, "Some Few Lines Towards a Description of the New Heaven." The Society also has the second edition, published in 1727.

The Thoughts of a Dying Man. | A | Faithful Report | of Matters uttered by many, | in the Last Minutes | of their Lives. | And, a | Solemn Warning | Unto All, | To Conform their Lives, unto | the Belief of such Unquestion- | able Matters. | Let us now take Advice from | Death; Tis Faithful, t' will not De- | ceive us. While we Live we are De- | ceived by Appearances; at our Death | we shall see Things as they are. | Pensees Chretiennes. ‖ Boston, in N. E. Printed by B. Green | & J. Allen, for J. Wheeler, at his | Shop at the Dock head. 1697. 16mo. pp. 47, (1).

Title-page, with heavy border, *verso*, "Reader"; 3–47, "The Thoughts of a Dying Man"; heavy lines at top and bottom of pages 2 and 3; last page "Advertisement. Seven Select Lectures of Mr. Cotton Mather."

1698.

Contemplations on Mortality.

Given in Dr. Green's list. The Society's copy has the autographs of "Jer: Dummer" (agent of Mass. in England) on title-page and "Bn. Wadsworth" (minister of first church in Boston) on fly leaf.

David | Serving His | Generation. | Or, A Sermon | Shewing | What is to be done in order to our so | Serving our Generation, as that when we | Dy, [*sic*] we shall Enter into a

Blessed Rest, | (Wherein | Some account is given concerning many | Eminent Ministers of Christ at London, as | well as in N. E. lately gone to their Rest.) | Occasioned by the Death, of the Reverend | Mr. John Baily, | Who Deceased at Boston in New-England. | December 12th. 1697. | By Increase Mather, President of | Harvard Colledge. | [Three lines from Numb. xx. 29.] ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green & J. Allen, 1698. 16mo. pp. 39.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 3–39.

A Good Man making a Good End, | The | Life and Death, | of the Reverend | Mr John Baily, | . . . in a | Sermon, | on the Day of his Funeral, . . . 16 d. 10 m. 1697, By Cotton Mather, Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green. 1698. 16mo.

Title-page and all before page 15 and after page 86 wanting. (Title taken from Sabin's Dictionary.)

Masukkenukéeg | Matcheseaenvog | Wequetoog Kah Wuttooanatoog | Uppeyaonont Christoh Kah ne | YEUYEU | TEANUK | Wonk, ahche nunnukquodt missinninnuh uk- | quohquenaount Wutaiuskoianatamooonganoo | Kah Keketookaonk papaume Wussittum- | wae Kesukodtum : Kah papaume nawhutch | onkatogeh Wunnomwayeuongash. | Nashpe Increase Mather. | Kukkootomwehteaenuh ut oomoeuwehkomong- | anit ut Bostonut, ut New-England. | [Three lines in the Indian language from Eccles. xii. 13 and three lines from Acts xx. 21.] [Yeush] Kukkcokootomwehteaongash qushkinnu- | munash en Indiane unnontoowaonganit nashpe S. D. ‖ Bostonut, Printucop nashpe Bartholomew Green. | Kah John Allen. 1698. 8vo. pp. 164.

Title-page, *verso* in MS. "Five Sermons of Rev Increase Mather translated into the Indian language by Samuel Danforth." This is Increase Mather's "Greatest Sinners called and encouraged to Come to Christ, and that Now, quickly," and other sermons by the same author. Mr. J. H. Trumbull in "Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New-England," says this is "the first Indian book known to have been printed after the removal of the press to Boston." All before page 7 wanting.

A | Sermon | Preach't at the | Funeral | Of | Mrs. Elizabeth Riscarrick. | December 20th. 1698. | [Two lines from Psal. xc. 12; three lines in Latin.] ‖ Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, 1698. 16mo. pp. (2), 7–29.

Title-page, with heavy border, *verso* blank; 7–29, "A Funeral Sermon." Pages 3–6 missing. Dr. Haven in his "Ante-Revolutionary Publications," gives this as by Samuel Myles, "Prince MS."

The | Tryal | of | Assurance, | set forth in a Sermon; | Preached at Boston upon a Lecture day, | July 7, 1698. | By Solomon Stoddard, Pastor of the Church | in Northampton. | [Two lines from II. Pet. i. 10. ‖ Boston in New-England, | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen Sold by | Michael Perry, under the Exchange, 1698. 16mo. pp. (2), 20.

Title-page, *verso* blank. pp. 1–20. On the top of title-page in MS. "Simon Bradstreets book."

1699.

The | Charter | Granted by Their Majesties | King William | and | Queen Mary, | To the | Inhabitants | Of the | Province | Of The | Massachusetts-Bay | In New-England. ‖ Boston in New-England. | Printed by Bartholomew Green, and John Allen (Printers to His Excellency | the Governour & Council,) for, and sold | by Michael Perry, and Benjamin Eliot. | 1699. 4to. pp. 15.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–15, "The Charter," &c., signed "By Writ of Privy Seal, Pigot."

In the same volume and following the Charter are ten pages of manuscript, beginning with "At the Court of Whitehall | the 22d day August 1695. | Present | Their Excellcies the Lord Justices, | in Council | Ld Arch Bp of Canterbury, Lord Privy Seal, | Ld Keeper, Duke of Shrewsbury, | Earle of Oxford, Earl of Montague, Earl of Monmouth, Earl of Romney, Mr. Chancellr of ye Exchequer, Lord Chief Justice Holt, Sr Henry Goodrich Mr

Smith. Whereas by Powers granted under the great seal of | England, The Governour, Council and Assembly of the | Province of Massachusetts Bay in New-England | are Authorized and Impowered to constitute and ordain Laws; | Which are to continue and be in force, unless his Majes^{tys} | pleasure shall be signifyed unto the | contrary. And whereas | in pursuance of the said powers, Several Laws have | been made by the Governour Council and Assembly | of the said Province in the year 1692. That is to say | &c."

Then follow titles of thirty-five acts, among them, "An Act for the observation & Keeping of ye Lords Day." "An Act for the soberly Consummating of Marriages." "An Act settlem^{t} & support of ministers & Schoolm^{rs}." "An Act for the preventing of danger by the French residing within this Province." "An Act for Registring Births & Deaths," etc. "Which said Laws haveing upon perusal of the R^{t} Honble the Lords of his Ma^{tys} most Honble Privy Council appointed a Committee of Trade and Plantations, been presented for the approbation of their Excellencies the Lords Justices of England. Their Excellencies with the Advice of his Ma^{tys} Privy Council have Declared their Approbation of the same, and Pursuant to their Excell^{cies} Pleasure thereupon expressed, The s^{d} Laws are hereby confirmed, finally enacted and Ratifyed accordingly. Wm. Bridgeman."

Then follow five pages of MS., beginning "After our hearty commendations, having received several Acts passed in the General Assembly of ye Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, in the year 1692, We have in pursuance of his Ma^{tys} Commands taken the same into Consideration," &c. Then follow the acts approved and repealed, etc., signed "Your Very loving Friends, Romney, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bolton, J. Somers, C. S., Pembroke, C. P. S., Will Trumbull, T. Bridgewater, Wm. Bridgeman. . . . Governour & Council of the Massachusetts Bay touching the Laws made in 1692."—"Copy."

Caledonia. | The | Declaration | of the | Council | Constituted by the Indian and African Com | pany of Scotland; for the Government, | and direction of their Colonies, and | Settlements in the Indies. 4to. pp. 4.

Title, followed by text, 4 pp. signed "By Order of the Council, Hugh Ross, Secretary. New-Edinburgh, December 28, 1698. Boston, Printed May 15, 1699."

A Family Well-Ordered. | Or | An Essay | To Render | Parents and Children | Happy in one another. | Handling Two very Important | Cases. | I. What are the Duties to be done by Pi- | ous Parents, for the promoting of Pie | ty in their Children. | II. What are the Duties that must be | paid by Children to their Parents, | that they may obtain the Blessings of | the Dutiful. | By Cotton Mather. | [Three lines from Mal. iv. 6.] ‖ Boston, Printed by B. Green & J. Allen, for | Michael Perry, at his Shop over-against | the Town-House: & Benjamin Eliot, at | his Shop under the West-End of the | Town-House, 1699. 12mo. pp. 79, 5.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–79, "The Duties of Parents to their Children"; 5 pp. "An Address, Ad Fratres in Eremo."

La Fe | del Christiano: | En | Veyntequatro Articulos | de la Institucion de Christo. | Embiada | A Los Españoles, Paraque abran fus ojos, y paraque se, | Conviertan de las Tinieblas a la luz, | y de la potestad de Satanas a Dios: | Paraque reciban por la Fe que es en | Jesu Christo Remis [. . .] | [. . .] peccados y Suerte Eutre [. . .] | Por C Mathero | Siervo del Señor Jesu Christo. | [Two lines from II. Timoth. i. 13.] | Boston, 1699. 16mo. pp. 16.

Title-page, *verso*, Apocalyp. Cap. 18. 4, 10 lines; 3–16, La Fe del Christiano.

Pillars of Salt. | An History | Of Some | Criminals executed in this Land, | For | Capital Crimes, | With Some | of their Dying | Speeches; | Collected and Published, | For the Warning of such as Live in | Destructive *Courses* of Ungodliness. | Whereto is added | For the better Improvement of this History, | A Brief Discourse about the Dreadful | Justice of God, in Punishing of | Sin, with Sin. | [Two lines from Deut. xix. 20.] ‖ Boston in New-England. | Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips | at the Brick Shop near the Old-Meeting-House, 1699. 12mo. pp. 111, (1).

Title-page, *verso*, "Preface"; 3–111, text; 1 p. Advertisement of books in press.

1700.

The Christianity of the People called | Quakers asserted, by Geore [*sic*] Keith: | In Answer to a Sheet called, A Serious Call to the Quakers &c. Attested by Eight Priests of the | Church of England, called &c. Sm. 4to. pp. 16.

Title-page missing. pp. 3–16. At the end of page 16, "Published on Behalf of People called Quakers, by some of them." Reprinted at Philadelphia by Reynier Jansen, 1700. Dr. Thomas, in "History of Printing," says, "I have met with only one book with Jansen's name in the imprint." "God's Protecting Providence Man's Surest Help and Defence," etc. Philadelphia, 1699. Not given under this date in Hildeburn's "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685–1786."

Conscience | The | Best Friend | Upon Earth: | Or | The Happy Effects | of Keeping | a Good Conscience. | Very Useful for this Age. | By Henry Stubbes, Minister | of the Gospel. | [Two lines from Acts xxiii. 1.] ‖ Boston, Re-printed by B. Green & J. Allen | for Nicholas Buttolph, and are to be | Sold as his Shop at the Corner of | Gutteridg's Coffee-House, 1700. 12mo. pp. (2), (18), 64.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 18 pp. "To the Readers Conscience"; 1–64, Sermons.

The | Doctrine | Of | Instituted Churches | Explained and Proved | From the | Word | of | God. | By Solomon Stoddard, A.M. Minister of the Gospel in | Northampton, New-England. Sm. 4to. pp. (2), 34.

Title-page, *verso* blank; date cut off. pp. 1–34. In MS. on title-page, "Printed Boston before 1700." This is undoubtedly an error, the typography seems to indicate that it was printed in London. Dr. Haven gives it in his "Ante-Revolutionary Publications" as reprinted at Boston, but with a (?). In the Prince Library Catalogue it is given, "London [1700 date cut off]."

The Everlasting Gospel. | The Gospel of | Justification | By the Righteousness of God; | as 'tis | Held and Preach'd in the Churches | of New-England: Expressed in | a Brief Discourse on that | Important Article; made at Boston | in the Year, 1699, | by Cotton Mather. | [. . .] Boston: Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph [. . .] 1700. 16mo.

Title-page and two pages of dedication wanting. See Sabin's Dictionary (XI. 403). 13 pp. Dedication; 2 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Increase Mather"; 9 pp. "To the Reader," signed "John Higginson"; 4 pp. "To the Reader," signed "Samuel Willard"; 1–73, "The Everlasting Gospel"; 74–76, "Divine Hymns"; two pages missing.

Gospel Order | Revived | Being an Answer to a Book lately set | forth by the Reverend Mr Increase Mather, President of Harvard Colledge &c. 12mo. pp. 40.

This is the same title as that given by Dr. Green under date of 1700. The copy belonging to the Antiquarian Society has on the margin of "Advertisement," before the title, in MS. the word "false." Below this in MS., "The word 'false' written above in the margin was written by the Rev. Cotton Mather, as were the remarks on the margin of the pages throughout the work. I. T."[homas].

Below this: "The words written in the margin are in the hand of Rev. Increase Mather and not the Rev. Cotton Mather as mentioned above. C. C. B."[aldwin]. I. Mather's name appears on fly-leaf at the beginning. On the title-page in MS. "New York. By Wm. Bradford. I. T."

Bound up with the above, but in different typography, p. 1 is "The Printers Advertisement," signed Bartholomew Green, Boston, December 21, 1700; *verso*, remarks about the printer, "Dated in Boston, December 24th, 1700." In MS. below: "These remarks were written by Cotton Mather." Then follows 3–4, "The Depositions of Thomas Brattle Gent. and Zechariah Tuthill, Merchant," sworn to "Coram Isaac Addington Nathaniel Byfield Justices of the Peace." Then follow 4–6, "The Depositions of John Mico, & Zechariah Tuthill,

Merchants," and statement of "Tho. Battle, Boston, December 27, 1700"; "Finis," Boston, Printed by John Allen, 1700; 7–8, Depositions of Bartholomew Green, John Allen & Timothy Green, Printers; 9–10, "To the Candid Reader," signed "B. Green, Boston, Jan. 10, 1700, 1," "Boston, Printed by Bartholomew Green, 1701." These all refer to "Gospel Order Revived," and were probably bound up with it under Isaiah Thomas's direction. Immediately following, without pagination, is 4 pp. "A Letter from one in the Country, concerning some of the Present Differences, signed Ireneus Aletheian." The Society has another copy, in which all after page 40 is wanting.

Things that Young People should | Think upon. | Or | The Death of | Young People | Improved, | In some Lively | Admonitions | to the Living. | With | Consolations, to the Bereaved | *Parents* of such *Young People*, as are by an *Early* (and perhaps a | sudden) Death, taken from them. | On Job i. 19. "The Young Men [. . .] are Dead." | [Two lines Latin.] | Boston, in N. E. Printed, by B. Green, & J. Allen: Sold at the Printing House, | at the South End of the Town, 1700. 8vo. pp. 16.

Title-page, with very heavy border, *verso* [Preface], signed "S. A. C. M."; one leaf wanting; 5–16, "Things that Young People should think upon or The Death of Young People made useful to the living," Boston 24 d. 1 m. 1700. "Three Young men of the neighbourhood, being Drowned from a Canooe, on the Tuesday before." Imperfect, last page is 16, a catch-word at the bottom indicates another page at least.

A | Token | for | Children | Being | An Exact Account of the Conversion, | Holy and Exemplary Lives and Joyful | Deaths of several Young Children. | By James Janeway, minister of the Gospel. | To which is added, | A Token for the Children of | New England | or | Some Examples of Children, in whom the | Fear of God was Remarkably Bud- | ding before they Dyed; In several | Parts of *New England*. | Preserved and Published for the encou- | ragement of Piety in other children. ‖ Boston in N. E. Printed for Nicholas Boone, at | his Shop over against the old Meeting- | House, 1700. 16mo. pp. (2), (8), 53.

Title-page, *verso*; 3 pp. "To all Parents, School Masters and School-Mistresses, or any that have any hand in the Education of Children"; 8 pp. "A Preface Containing Directions to Children"; 1–53, A Token for Children; blank page. (In two parts, first part pp. 53.) Followed by:

A | Token | For | Children | The Second Part | Being | A farther Account of the Conversion, | Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful | Deaths, of Several other Young Children, | not Published in *The First Part.* | By James Janeway, Minister of the | Gospel. | [Two lines from Psal. viii. 2.] ‖ Boston, in N. E. Re-printed by T. Green, | for Benjamin Eliot, 1700. 16mo. pp. (6), 61–131, (1).

Title-page, *verso* blank; 4 pp. "A Prefface to the Reader"; 61–131, "A Token for Children"; blank page.

A Token for the Children of | New-England, | Or | Some Examples of | Children, | In whom the Fear of God was | Remarkably Budding, before they Dyed; | In Several Parts of | New-England. | Preserved and Published, for the | Encouragement of Piety in other | Children, | And | Added as a Supplement, unto the Excel- | lent Janewayes Token for Children: | Upon the Re-printing of it, in this Countrey. ‖ Boston in N. E. Printed by Timothy Green | for Benjamin Eliot, at his Shop under | the West-End of the Town-House, 1700. 16mo. pp. 36.

Title-page, *verso* blank; 3–28, "A Token for the Children of New-England"; 29–36, "Some Scriptural Hymns For Children."

A Chronological list of Titles given by Dr. Samuel A. Green in his "Early American Imprints," which are also in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

1660. The Book of General Laws and Liberties.
1661. The New Testament in the Indian Language. John Eliot.
1662. Propositions concerning the Subject of Baptism, etc.
1662. Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana.
1663. The Cause of God and his People in New England. John Higginson.
1663. The Church Membership of Children, etc. Thomas Shepard.
1663. A Discourse About Civil Government. John Cotton.
1663. Indian Bible. John Eliot.
1663. Laws and Orders, 1661–1663.
1664. A Defence of the Answers and Arguments of the Synod.
1664. Laws and Orders, 1661–62–64.
1664. Three Choice and Profitable Sermons. John Norton.
1668. The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists. Guy de Brez.
1670. Balm in Gilead to heal Sin's Wounds. Thomas Walley.
1670. Life and Death of Richard Mather. Increase Mather.
1670. New England's True Interest; not to lie, etc. William Stoughton.
1670. Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry and Superstition. Samuel Mather.
1671. Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness. Samuel Danforth.
1671. Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesome Times. Jonathan Mitchell.
1671. Platform of Church Discipline.
1671. Serious Exhortation to the Present and Succeeding Generation in New England. Eleazer Mather.
1672. General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony.
1672. Several Laws and Orders, 1673–1674–1677.
1673. New England Freemen Warned and Warmed. John Oxenbridge.
1673. New England Pleaded with. Urian Oakes.
1673. Wo to Drunkards. Increase Mather.
1674. Exhortation Unto Reformation. Samuel Torrey.
1674. Unconquerable All Conquering Souldier, &c. Urian Oakes.
1675. Discourse Concerning Baptisme. Increase Mather.
1675. First Principles of New England. Increase Mather.
1675. The Times of Men are in the hand of God. Increase Mather.
1676. Brief History of War with the Indians of N. E. Increase Mather.
1676. Earnest Exhortation to N. E. Increase Mather.
1676. Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of Rulers. William Hubbard.
1677. Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians. William Hubbard.
1678. Abraham in Arms. Samuel Nowell.
1678. Anne Bradstreet's Poems. 2d Edition.
1679. Almanack. John Danforth.
1679. Discourse Concerning the Dangers of Apostasy. Increase Mather.
1679. New England's Choicest Blessing. James Allen.
1679. Necessity of the pouring out of the Spirit. William Adams.
1679. Pray for the Rising Generation. Increase Mather.
1679. Serious Advice to delivered ones from Sickness. James Allen

1680. Almanack. Printed by John Usher.
1680. Divine Right of Infant Baptism Asserted. Increase Mather.
1680. New Testament in Indian language.
1680. Returning Unto God of a Covenant People. Increase Mather.
1681. Almanack. John Foster.
1682. Ephemeris of Cœlestial Motions. William Brattle.
1682. Fast Sermon. Increase Mather.
1682. The Fiery Tryal no strange thing. Samuel Willard.
1682. Heaven's Alarm to the World. Increase Mather.
1682. Publick Tryal of the Quakers. Samson Bond.
1682. Soveraign Efficacy of Divine Providence. Urian Oakes.
1683. Boston Ephemeris.
1683. Discourse Concerning Comets. Increase Mather.
1683. The High Esteem which God hath of the Death of his Saints. Samuel Willard.
1683. Plea for the Life of Dying Religion. Samuel Torrey.
1684. Benefit of Well-Ordered Conversation. William Hubbard.
1684. Doctrine of Divine Providence. Increase Mather.
1684. Election Sermon—The only Sure way to prevent threatened Calamity. Samuel Willard.
1684. Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences. Increase Mather.
1684. Irenicon or a Salve for New England's Sore. Daniel Denison.
1684. Self Employment in Secret. John Corbet.
1684. Sermon on the Constant Exercise of Grace. Nath'l Mather.
1685. Bible. Old Testament in the Indian Language.
1685. A Call from Heaven. Increase Mather.
1685. Cambridge Ephemeris. W. Williams.
1685. Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostacy. Increase Mather.
1685. God's Eye on the Contrite. William Adams.
1685. Practical Discourse Concerning Communion with God. Joshua Moody.
1685. Pray for the Rising Generation. Increase Mather.
1685. Remember now thy Creator. Increase Mather.
1685. A Sermon on two men executed for Murder. Increase Mather.
1686. Almanack, N. E. S. D[anforth].
1686. Almanack. Nath'l Mather.
1686. God's Promise to his Plantations. John Cotton.
1686. The Mystery of Christ. Increase Mather.
1687. Almanack. John Tulley.
1687. Joy of Faith. Samuel Lee.
1687. Military Duties. Cotton Mather.
1688. Almanack. John Tulley.
1689. Almanack. John Tulley.
1689. Brief Discourse Concerning Common Prayer Worship. Increase Mather.
1689. The Kings Majesties Charter—Massachusetts Bay.
1689. Man's Chief End to Glorifie God. John Bailey.
1689. Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft. Cotton Mather.
1689. Souldiers Counselled and Comforted. Cotton Mather.
1690. Almanack. John Tulley.
1690. A Companion for Communicants. Cotton Mather.
1690. Present State of New England. Cotton Mather.
1690. Principles of the Protestant Religion Maintained.
1690. The Serviceable Man. Cotton Mather.

1690. The Way to Prosperity. Cotton Mather.
1690. Wonderful Works of God Commemorated. Cotton Mather.
1691. The Barren Fig Tree's Doom. Samuel Willard.
1691. Little Flocks Guarded, etc. Cotton Mather.
1691. Mourners Cordial Against Excessive Sorrow. Samuel Willard.
1691. Promise-Keeping a Great Duty. Samuel Willard.
1691. Sinfulness of Worshiping God with Man's Institutions. Samuel Willard.
1691. Triumphs of the Reformed Religion in America. Cotton Mather.
1692. Acts and Laws of Massachusetts.
1693. Almanack. John Tulley.
1693. Christ's Fidelity the only Shield. Deodat Lawson.
1693. Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption. Samuel Willard.
1693. Great Blessings, etc. Increase Mather.
1693. Judgment of Several Eminent Divines.
1693. Wonders of the Invisible World. Cotton Mather.
1694. Almanack. Philo Mathemat.
1694. Character of a Good Ruler. Samuel Willard.
1694. Early Religion Urged. Cotton Mather.
1694. Mass. Acts & Laws.
1694. Narrative of the Planting of the Mass. Colony. Joshua Scottow.
1694. Reformation the Great Duty of an Afflicted People. Samuel Willard.
1695. Almanack. John Tulley.
1695. Johannes in Eremo. Cotton Mather.
1695. Memoria Wilsoniana. Increase Mather.
1695. Piscator Evangelicus. Cotton Mather.
1696. Almanack. John Tulley.
1696. Act for Preventing Frauds in Plantation Trade.
1696. Massachusetts: or the first Planters of New England.
1697. Almanack. John Tulley.
1697. Ecclesiastes—Life of Rev. Jona. Mitchel. Cotton Mather
1697. Kneeling to God at Parting with Friends. J. Danforth.
1697. Remembrance of Former Times. W. J.
1698. Almanack. John Tulley.
1698. Contemplations on Mortality. Samuel Lee.
1698. New England's Duty and Interest. Nicholas Noyes.
1699. Acts and Laws of Massachusetts Bay.
1699. Almanack. John Tulley.
1699. A Confession of Faith in the Indian Language.
1699. The Man of War. Samuel Willard.
1699. Order confirming several Acts and Laws of the Province.
1700. Acts and Laws of Massachusetts.
1700. Almanack. John Tulley.
1700. The Fountain Opened. Samuel Willard.
1700. Gospel Order Revived.
1700. Love's Pedigree. Samuel Willard.
1700. Morality Not to be Relied on for Life. Samuel Willard.
1700. Order of the Gospel Professed and Practised. Increase Mather.
1700. The Peril of the Times Displayed. Samuel Willard.
1700. Pillar of Gratitude. Cotton Mather.
1700. Truly Blessed Man. Samuel Willard.
1700. Vindication of the Divine Authority.
1700. A Warning to the Flocks against Wolves. Cotton Mather.

THE LITERATURE OF WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

THE sporadic and epidemic manifestations of witchcraft during the seventeenth century in New England were but symptoms of a belief in satanic agencies, world-wide and pervading all ages. As a psychological symptom, it has created a large number of treatises, learned or emotional, some confidently adhering to the belief, others corrective or sternly critical. Lecky, who has touched the subject in his *History of Rationalism*, gives high praise to the learning and ability of Maury's *Histoire de la Magie* (Paris, 1860). The retrospections of the *Commentaries* of Blackstone, the records (1661) of the *Tryal of Witches at the Assizes for the County of Suffolk, March, 1664, before Sir Matthew Hale* (London, 1682), (which Cotton Mather summarized in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*), and T. Glanvil's *Sadducismus triumphans, or full and plain evidence concerning witches and apparitions* (London, 1681,)—a book on which the Mathers feasted—show how thoroughly perverse public opinion was in England in the days when colonial New England looked thither for guidance. The commonness of the frenzy is shown in such books as W. H. D. Adams's *Historical sketches of magic and witchcraft in England and Scotland* (London, 1889). Michael Dalton's *Country Justice* (1619, etc.,) was the authority for the English practice in such trials. Dr. Haven, in his Report to the American Antiquarian Society (April 24, 1874), says of Dalton's book: "The tests, the manner of examination, the nature of the evidence, the

processes of trial and the consequences of conviction, were laid down with a clearness that admitted of no evasion or misinterpretation in Dalton's *Justice*, the accepted legal guide of the provinces. . . . No one can read these directions and legal precedents . . . without being struck with the scrupulous exactness of their observance in the trials at Salem." This infelicitous propensity had not even then escaped censure, but Reginald Scot, when in 1584 he published his *Discovery of Witchcraft*, in order to prove that "the contracts and compacts of witches with devils and all infernal spirits or familiars, are but erroneous novelties and imaginary conceptions," found himself in danger for his temerity. He maintained his position, dependent on posterity, as exemplified in Hallam, for an appreciation of it. Scot's book, however, had reached a third edition (London, 1665—in Harvard College library,) thirty years before the baleful exhibitions at Salem; and a new edition was printed at London in 1886.

When the executions for witchcraft numbered thirty thousand in the British islands—and the number of the judicial murders was still greater in the continental countries—it is one of the curious hazards of history that the few score deaths for witchcraft in New England should have made so extravagant an impression. After 1646 there were but twelve executed for witch-pact, till the fever of 1692 added twenty more, making only thirty-two in that century, and none before or since. (*Cf. Historical Magazine*, April, 1860; *New England Magazine*, Dec., 1893,—cited for ease of reference, for the facts are notorious). Hutchinson accounts for this prominence of the Salem story in this way: "The great noise, which the New England witchcrafts made throughout the English dominions, proceeded more from the general panic with which all sorts of persons were seized, and an expectation that the contagion would spread to all parts of the country, than from the number of persons who were executed, more

having been put to death in a single county in England, in a short space of time, than have suffered in all New England from the first settlement to the present time." How the story, as told in a score of publications, in which for the most part "the devil was an easy way of accounting for what was beyond man's comprehension," affects the modern scholar, can be seen in the essay on witchcraft, contributed by James Russell Lowell to the *North American Review*, Jan., 1868, and included in his *Among my Books* (Boston, 1870); and we may well remember his conclusions: "The proceedings at Salem are sometimes spoken of as if they were exceptionally cruel. But in fact, if compared with others of the same kind, they were exceptionally humane. . . . While in other countries the delusion was extinguished by the incredulity of the upper classes and the interference of authority, here the reaction took place among the people themselves, and here only was an attempt made at some legislative restitution, however inadequate." It should be remembered that the common law penalty for such felony was burning, and there was not a case of that torture in Salem. Giles Corey, who was pressed to death, suffered the common law penalty for refusing to plead.

The student will naturally not forget as a general treatise Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft.*

A convenient enumeration of the phenomena is Samuel G. Drake's *Annals of Witchcraft in New England and elsewhere in the United States from their first settlement* (Boston, 1869), being No. 8 of W. E. Woodward's "Historical Series." Mr. Drake only summarizes the Salem events, but enlarges on the less known instances, from 1636 to 1728, and gives in an appendix the examination of Hugh Parsons at Springfield in 1651, and the testimony in the case of Elizabeth Moore at Newbury in 1680.

Without any attempt to be exhaustive on these sporadic cases anterior to 1692, reference may be made, in passing,

for cases in New England to Palfrey's *New England*, vol. iv.; to William F. Poole's chapter in vol. ii. of Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston;* S. G. Drake's *Boston;* Holland's *History of Western Massachusetts;* Sylvester Judd's *Hadley*, ch. 21; and Bailey's *Andover*. The case of Elizabeth Knap in Groton can be followed in Samuel Willard's *Useful instructions for a professing people* (Cambridge, 1673), Mather's *Magnalia*, Butler's *Groton*, Samuel A. Green's *Groton in the Witchcraft Times* (1883), and Willard's diary in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. xxxviii. For Plymouth Colony, see W. R. Bliss's *Old Colony Town* (Boston, 1893). For a case in New Hampshire, 1656, see the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, 1889, p. 181, and *Granite Monthly*, vol. x., p. 347; for one in Maine, 1659, see *Ditto*, 1859, July, p. 193; for Connecticut cases see *The Colonial Records* of that Colony; for those in New York, see O'Callaghan's *Documentary Hist. of New York*, iv., p. 85; for "Isaac Sherwood, the one Virginia witch," see *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1884; for indictments in North Carolina, see Hawks's *History* of that State, ii., 116; for others in South Carolina, see *De Bow's Review*.

There is a report of a case in Illinois so late as 1790 (*Magazine of American History*, Nov., 1885, p. 458).

"There were executions for this cause in England," says Dr. Haven, "as late as 1716, and in Scotland as late as 1722. The laws against witchcraft remained on the statute book till the 9th of George II., when they were repealed."

The tendency of the seventeenth century to cling to a belief in witchcraft was encouraged by the books which the New England communities read. Hutchinson speaks thus of this influence: "Not many years before, Glanvil published his witch-stories in England; Perkins and other nonconformists were earlier; but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, revered in New England, not only

for his knowledge in the law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches in Suffolk was published in 1684 [1682?]. All these books were in New England, and the conformity between the behavior of the supposed bewitched at Salem and the behavior of those in England, is so exact, as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by others, who had read them." Among books of this pernicious tendency, none were read with more avidity than those of Increase and Cotton Mather, and to the baleful influence of such was largely due the unbalance of mind, which permitted the Salem frenzy. The systematic efforts of the Mathers, father and son, to engage the superstitious and reckless—and in this nefarious business Increase at a later day used his position as President of Harvard College, the better to accomplish his ends—led to many ministers and others helping, by offering a premium on invention and exaggeration, to pour in upon the expectant credulous, what Mather was pleased to call "memorable or illustrious providences." It is no merely modern propensity, prompted by a disregard of the tendency of that time, to charge so much upon this baleful misuse of literature, for these books were recognized even in the Mathers' day as an active agency, leading to direful events. It is so shown in Francis Hutchinson's *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft* (London, 1718), which was reprinted with enlargements in 1720, and in Richard Baxter's preface to his edition of Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences.* The first of the two Mather books, responsible for so much, was Increase Mather's *An Essay for recording of Illustrious Providences: wherein an account is given of many remarkable and very memorable events which have happened this last age, especially in New England* (Boston, 1684).

Hutchinson refers to this book when he says: "A very circumstantial account of all or most of the cases was published, and many arguments were brought to convince the

country, that they were no delusions or impostures; but the effects of a familiarity between the devil and such as he found fit for his instruments."

Mr. J. A. Doyle says of it, in his *Puritan Colonies* (ii., 389): "The conditions of life in New England made such a publication peculiarly dangerous. The human imagination, starved by asceticism, robbed of all natural and wholesome aliment, revenged itself by seizing greedily on the marvels presented to it." There are copies of Mather's book in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Prince libraries. It has been reprinted in our day as *Remarkable Providences, illustrative of the earlier days of American Colonization . . . with introductory preface by George Offor* (London, 1856).

Five years later Cotton Mather published *Memorable Providences, relating to witchcrafts and possessions. A faithful account of many wonderful and surprising things, that have befallen several bewitched and possessed persons in New England* (Boston, 1689,—a copy in the Prince library). It was reprinted at Edinburgh. In the London reprint of 1691, the title is changed to *Late Memorable Providences*, etc., *clearly manifesting not only that there are witches, but that good men (as well as others) may possibly have their lives shortened by such evil instruments of Satan.* There are copies of this edition in the Prince and Harvard College libraries. The book is in some part concerned with the case of Goody Glover, the last witch executed in Boston (1688). "I am resolved," says this gentle Christian divine, "after this never to use but just one grain of patience with any man, that shall go to impose upon me a denial of devils or of witches." Richard Baxter, who published in London, in 1691, his *Certainty of the world of Spirits*, says: "They that will read Mr. Increase Mather's book, and especially his son's, Mr. Cotton Mather's book, of witchcrafts in New England, may

see enough to silence any incredulity that pretendeth to be rational."

"The writings of the two Mathers had prepared the public," says Doyle, "both to be interested and to believe." The effects of the morbid condition of mind, which these noisome records produced, augmented by sundry English books of equally pernicious character, manifested itself, as the world knows, in the beginning of 1692, at Salem Village, a precinct of Salem, in the family of the Rev. Samuel Parris, who has been held immediately responsible for the initial movements of the persecutions. As much as can be said in exculpation of his folly is told in Samuel P. Fowler's brief *Account of the life and character of Rev. Samuel Parris* (Salem, 1857), which is reprinted in Drake's *Witchcraft Delusion in New England* (vol. iii.). Some of Parris's sermons, which are preserved in the Connecticut Historical Society Library, tell the story of his credulity. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, April, 1858; *Historical Magazine*, ii., 49).

Sir William Phips, the fortuitous royal governor of the Province, owing his elevation to Increase Mather, and yielding to influence of the same sort, established a special Court of Oyer and Terminer in June for the trial of the accused. There is a letter from Cotton Mather to John Richards, one of the court, excusing himself for not attending the trials; but advising on the course of procedure (*Mass. Hist. Collections*, xxxviii., 391), and when after one execution the ministers were called upon for advice on this point, their *Return*, urging a rigorous and speedy prosecution, was written by Cotton Mather. The paper can be found in the *Mather Papers*, as published by the Mass. Hist. Society; in Hutchinson's account; in Upham's *Salem Witchcraft;* and Increase Mather gave it in his *Cases of Conscience.* In interpreting this paper, Upham and most of the commentators consider it as sustaining the use of "spectral evidence," or the testimony of the

accusers; but Poole, in controverting Upham, denies the deduction. (*Cf.* Bowen's *Life of Phips*).

The earliest publication, a tract of ten pages, bearing directly upon the events at Salem Village, was issued in the summer of 1692, as *A brief and true narrative of some remarkable passages relating to sundry persons, afflicted by witchcraft at Salem Village, which happened from the nineteenth of March to the fifth of April, 1692. Collected by Deodat Lawson* (Boston, 1692). Dr. Moore infers that the publication was instigated by Cotton Mather. There is a copy in the Mass. Hist. Society library.

The wretched summer passed, and autumn was passing, and twenty executions had taken place, when in October the court adjourned, and was not suffered to reassemble. (C. W. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*, Phips's letter to Nottingham, *Essex Institute Hist. Collections*, vol. ix., and in Palfrey's *New England*, iv., 112).

More than a month before this Cotton Mather, Sept. 20, had importuned Stephen Sewall, the clerk of the court, to furnish him accounts of the trials. (*New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, 1870, p. 108). In this way securing the records of five of the examinations, and having a purpose, as he professed, "to countermine the whole plot of the Devil against New England," he embodied them in his *Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693), a volume of 215 pages. He had already preached some portion of the book in a sermon, on Aug. 4, 1692. While he was at work on his manuscript it is to be allowed that the time was "in the highest ferment of these troubles," as with smothered qualms of conscience he later claimed, professing at the same time that he rejoiced "for justice being so far executed." The book was apparently finished in October, when a duplicate copy of the manuscript was sent to England, so that the book's appearance in London was not far from the issue of the Boston edition, both being given to the public probably in December, 1692. The imprints of

the New England edition vary, so that there were at least two names of publishers, and a Catalogue of the library of the American Antiquarian Society (1837) gives the date of 1692 for one in that society, repeated by Henry M. Dexter in his *Bibliography of Congregationalism;* but an inspection of the copy shows that the date is 1693, like that chronicled by Dr. Green as being in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. There were three London editions issued by John Dunton, the third, much abridged, filling only 64 pages. The second and third editions were advertised in February and June, 1693. Copies have risen in value from 10/6 in Rich's day, 1844, to over a hundred dollars in recent sales. All three London editions are in Harvard College library. There are three modern reprints. One was issued by J. R. Smith in his Library of Old Authors, *to which is added a farther account of the Tryals of the New England Witches by Increase Mather* (London, 1862); a second in S. G. Drake's *Witchcraft Delusion in New England* (Roxbury, 1866); and the third in S. P. Fowler's *Salem Witchcraft* (Salem, 1861; Boston, 1865).

Early in the year (1693) the London press also gave out *A true account of the Tryals . . . of divers witches at Salem, in New England. . . . In a letter to a friend in London.* This production is dated at "Salem, 8th moneth, 1692," and signed "M. C.", and Sibley credits it to Cotton Mather; but Dr. Moore considers it a made-up affair, and cribbed from *The Wonders of the Invisible World.* There is a copy in the Carter-Brown library.

Increase Mather had landed at Boston, May 14, 1692, returning from a mission, which had secured the provincial charter for Massachusetts, and Sir William Phips, Mather's creature, for the governor under it. Both came to find the country in the midst of the excitement, which Mather's craving for "illustrious providences" had done so much to produce. Phips could hardly have instituted the

court for trying the witches, but with Mather's approval, and the turmoil in men's minds, was further augmented by Mather's preparation of what he called *Cases of conscience concerning evil spirits personating men, witchcrafts, infallible proofs of guilt in such as are accused with that crime.* (Boston, 1693). This paper, in which he tardily disapproved the admission of "spectral evidences," and which was in some respects an enlargement of the "Return" of the ministers, was dated at Boston, Oct. 3, 1692, and there are copies in the Harvard College, Massachusetts Historical Society, Prince, and American Antiquarian Society libraries. The original manuscript, or what purported to be it, was offered in the Francis S. Drake sale in Boston, in November, 1885, No. 1032.

As his son had done, Mather despatched apparently an early copy, either of proof or manuscript, to England, and John Dunton announced in June, 1693, in the *Athenian Mercury*, that the book was in press. (Moore's *Bibliographical Notes.*) When it appeared it made part of a volume entitled *A farther account of the Tryals of the New England Witches, with the observations of a person who was upon the place several days when the suspected witches were first taken into examination. To which is added Cases of Conscience*, etc. (London, 1693.) There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, and Harvard College libraries. The "person" referred to was Deodat Lawson, whose *True Narrative*, already mentioned in the earliest publication on the subject, introduced the volume. The *Farther Account*, etc., was reprinted in 1862, at London, in the volume with Cotton Mather's *Wonders, etc.*

Lawson's account was also made a part of his *Christ's fidelity the only shield against Satan's malignity. Sermon at Salem Village, 24 March, 1692*, as "a brief account of those amazing things which occasioned that discourse." (Boston, 1693; London, 1704.)

Samuel Sewall records that Cotton Mather said of the four condemned persons, who were hanged August 19, "that they all died by a righteous sentence." Inasmuch as conviction depended on "spectral evidence," we have in this assertion Mather's approval of its fitness in deciding the question of guilt, and so far it sustains Upham against Poole in their later controversy.

After the reaction came, Cotton Mather avoided publishing any direct explanation of his conduct during the turmoil. He contented himself with objurgations upon his antagonist, Calef, and was satisfied with praying and singing psalms, as his diary shows. He came nearest to making a record in his *Life of Sir William Phips* (London, 1697; again 1699; and also in his *Magnalia*). The sixteenth section of the latter is "A remarkable history of the strange witchcrafts and possessions in New England." When he issued his *Magnalia* in 1702, he used a narrative prepared by John Hales, instead of writing one himself.

The chief dependence in considering the events of Cotton Mather's life, has been a memoir of him by his son Samuel, and the extracts from his diaries (preserved in the libraries of the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society and in the Congregational library in Boston) which have been printed. His agency in these Salem events has been variously viewed, generally with aversion, tempered sometimes with charity, and sometimes with attempted exoneration. He may not have been wilfully culpable, though he has to some the guise of it; but unintentioned mischief loses little of its burden and pestilence. We find the diverse estimates vigorously upheld in the controversy between Upham and Poole; and every shade of condemnation or apology will appear in the following books: Peabody's *Life of Cotton Mather* in Sparks's "American Biography"; Chandler Robbins's *History of the Second Church in Boston;* the *History of New England* by Palfrey, of *Massachusetts* by Barry

and of *Harvard University* by Quincy; Haven in the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, April and October, 1874, seeks to modify modern judgments; Henry M. Dexter in the *Memorial History of Boston* defends the "Mather Dynasty"; Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* meets the issue squarely. Abijah P. Marvin in his *Cotton Mather and His Times* (Boston, 1894,) labors as an apologist, and Barrett Wendell in his *Cotton Mather* (New York, 1893,) recognizes the influence which the modern study of hypnotism has upon the treatment of a belief in witchcraft. This is perhaps more apparent in a paper read by Wendell before the Essex Institute called "*Were the Salem Witches Guiltless?*" (Salem, 1892,) later included in his *Stelligeri and other essays* (New York, 1893.) W. F. Poole intimates this ground of defence in his *North American Review* article, and G. M. Beard employs it in his *Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692, and its practical application to our own time.* (New York, 1882.)

It is always a misfortune to a man to be too conscious of his dominance among his fellows. A docile spirit finds its circumspection, not only keen, but humble, and such are the only leaders of men whom other ages can applaud. When men like the Mathers with hierarchical power assume infallible leadership, they put themselves beyond the pale of later sympathy, and when such men fall into a frenzy that bodes evil, they should be held to a strict accountability at the bar of history. It is due to humanity and its hopes of improvement, that no forced exoneration shall protect their reputation with posterity.

The assumption of the Mathers was a serious responsibility. Their followers may be pardoned by a more enlightened age; but themselves, never. Such men cannot avoid coming in contact with those who act under impulses which all ages share. Their fame cannot always encounter the debased conditions which characterized their own times.

It was dangerous in those days for a man to show unguardedly this perennial judgment, but that there lived at the time of the Mathers some who were not enslaved by their influence, shows that society could have been saved, but for such misguided leaders. Such was Joshua Moody, who spirited away to a place of safety the accused Philip English and his wife (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, i. 377). Such was the outspoken Robert Pike (John S. Pike, *Life of Robert Pike, the New Puritan*). The Reverend John Wise was "perhaps the only minister in the neighborhood or country, who was discerning enough to see the erroneousness of the proceedings from the beginning." (Upham's *Salem Witchcraft.*) Samuel Willard of Boston had three of the judges, among his friends and parishioners, Winthrop, Stoughton and Sewall, and was privileged to read the latter's words of repentance from his pulpit, Jan. 14, 1696-7. He thought his environment rendered it wiser for him to send to Philadelphia, and have printed there anonymously before the revulsion came, a dialogue, tending to set the current right, which he had written during the summer, and called *Some Miscellany Observations on our present debates respecting Witchcraft* (Philadelphia, 1692.) There is a copy of this tract in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library. It was in time known to be Willard's production, and Dr. Moore has pointed out correspondences of sentiment in an acknowledged sermon of 1706. It is placed among his writings in a list of them given in his *Body of Divinity* (1726) and his biographer, Ebenezer Pemberton, makes it evidence of his right-mindedness. It was reprinted in *The Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1869, and separately.

Early in October, 1692, and while the fever was still running, Thomas Brattle wrote a *Letter giving a full and candid account of the delusion called witchcraft, which prevailed in New England, and of the judicial trials and executions at Salem for that pretended crime, in 1692*,—a

paper which Savage calls "the most judicious explanation of the processes of that judicial blindness." It was not printed till 1798, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. v. "Brattle thoroughly understood the people to whom he was writing" says Doyle. "A man could hardly have gone as far as he did, and have thoroughly understood the weakness of the evidence on which the charges rested, without going further and seeing that the whole theory of possession and compact was groundless."

Brattle rendered more conspicuous service in the assistance which he gave to Robert Calef, the sturdiest antagonist of the folly, after the tide had turned. This gentleman, calling himself a merchant of Boston, had come in contact with Cotton Mather, when, following upon the subsidence of the Salem frenzy, this unsated divine was working up the case of Margaret Rule in Boston, in *Another Brand Plucked Out of the Burning*. Calef got hold of a copy of it which was circulated in manuscript, and somewhat persistently tried to bring Mather to acknowledge what he meant in the further pursuit; Mather at first tried to browbeat his teaser with threatening a suit at law for slander. He then put on a wary habit, which is cleverly shown by Sibley's summary of their intercourse in his *Harvard Graduates* (vol. iii.) There is approval of Mather's studied disdain in Poole's review of Upham, and in Marvin's *Cotton Mather and His Times*. "To question the infallibility of Cotton Mather," says Doyle, "and still to remain on good terms with him was impossible. Calef was soon engaged in a controversy, conducted by him with sobriety and good judgment and by his opponent with confusion of thought and intemperance of language."

There were two Robert Calefs at this time in Boston, father and son, born respectively in 1648 and 1677, and there has been some doubt as to which of the name was Mather's critic. The letters which Calef addressed to Mather, together with Mather's account of the Margaret

Rule case, and with reports of some of the Salem cases, beside a comment on Mather's Memoir of Phips, were sent to England and were there printed in 1700, as *More Wonders of the Invisible World.* The book is sufficiently rare to be worth in either of the two editions of that year from $100 to $150. It is, however, in the Harvard College, Massachusetts Historical Society, Carter-Brown and other leading collections, and was sold in the Barlow, Menzies, Murphy and Ives sales.

Calef's book was reprinted at Salem in 1796 and 1823, and at Boston in 1828,—all more or less erroneously, the later ones based on the 1796 edition, which was carelessly proof-read. In 1861, at Salem, and in 1865, at Boston, Mr. S. P. Fowler published *Salem Witchcraft, comprising more wonders of the Invisible World by Robert Calef, and Wonders of the Invisible World by Cotton Mather, with notes and explanations.* Charles Deane pointed out in a review the unsatisfactory character of this text of the two books, which showed reduplications of errors, and in the case of Mather's book, that it was reprinted from an abridged edition. This critique was separately printed as *Bibliographical Tracts, No. 1. Spurious Reprints of Early books, by C. D.* (Boston, 1865). A better text of the two books was given in *The Witchcraft Delusion of New England . . . as exhibited by Dr. Cotton Mather, etc., with preface, introduction and notes, by Samuel G. Drake* (Roxbury, 1866, in three volumes.)

Hutchinson says of Calef that "in his account of facts, which can be evidenced by records and other original writings, he appears to have been a fair relator." To vindicate Mather it has been necessary to discredit Calef, and the opinion of him held by Poole and Marvin is a derogatory one. On the other hand most students of the question since Hutchinson, and down to Upham and Moore, have upheld Calef and sacrificed Mather. *Cf.* Moses Coit Tyler in his *American Literature.*

The opinion of his opponent held by Mather himself was couched in the language of aspersions, as will be seen in the extracts from his diary given in the *Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings*, March, 1858. Increase Mather is said to have burned the book in the yard of Harvard College. Some of the supporters of Mather, Obadiah Gill and others, published a tract, *Some Few Remarks Upon a Scandalous Book Against the Government and Ministry of New England, written by one Robert Calef.* The signers said they belonged "to the flock of some of the injured pastors, and [were] concerned for their just vindication." This tract has never been reprinted; but there are copies in the Harvard College, Boston Public and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries.

The revulsion at last came when persons in high station were whispered against and when the wife of the Rev. John Hale, of Beverly, was accused. The husband, who had been one of the urgent abettors of the persecutions, turned in his tracks when the storm swept against his own household. "The whole community," says Upham, "became convinced that the accusers in crying out upon Mrs. Hale, had perjured themselves, and from that moment their power was destroyed." This was in October, 1692. Hale to explain his revulsion, prepared his *Modest Enquiry into the nature of witchcraft*, and in a preface dated Dec. 15, 1697, he makes the acknowledgment of his error, but "with too much pride," as Bentley said, "for a man who had done so much harm." It was not published till 1702, and there is a copy in Harvard College library and two were sold in the Brinley sale (Nos. 1365, 1366). It is probably the rarest of all the witchcraft books, and was reprinted in Boston in 1771. Cotton Mather in his *Parentator* (Boston, 1724), a memoir of his father, claimed, with what seemed very much like solemn mockery, that Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience* gave the turn to the tide.

It was not till December 17, 1696, that the Council and the House of Representatives were brought to an agreement about issuing a proclamation for a day of humiliation. The House a week before had adopted a paper which had been drawn up by Cotton Mather, detailing reasons for a fast. It is given in W. D. Love's *Fast and Thanksgiving days of New England* (Boston, 1895), and it thus referred to the witchcraft trials: "Wicked sorceries have been practised in the land, and in the late inexplicable storms from the invisible world thereby brought upon us, we were left by the just hand of heaven unto those errors, whereby great hardships were brought upon innocent persons, and, we fear, guilt incurred which we have all cause to bewail with much confusion of our face before the Lord." The Council substituted another form of repentance, better suited to save their consciences, and the House assenting, the Fast was fixed for January 14, 1696–97. It was on this day that Judge Sewall made his public recantation in church (Sewall's *Diary*, i., 445).

There is a mass of official papers relating to the proceedings at Salem preserved in the office of the county clerk there. They have been printed in two volumes, not very accurately, in *Records of Salem Witchcraft, copied from the original documents* (Roxbury, 1864). The edition was small, not much over two hundred copies.

There is also in the archives of Massachusetts a volume of witchcraft papers, 1656–1750, containing many personal appeals of the accused, and they may be supplemented by matter found in the *Colonial Records* (Boston, 1853–4,) and in the *Province Laws* (Boston, 1869,) as edited for the most part by A. C. Goodell, Jr.

The records of the church at Danvers (once Salem Village) are printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Genealogical Register*, April and October, 1857, and in the *Mass. Historical Collections*, vol. xxiii.

Some papers passing from John Pickering to Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch were presented by Nathaniel I. Bowditch to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and are described in the *Proceedings*, May, 1860, and some relating to the case of George Burroughs are there printed. (*Cf.* Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, ii., 334.) There are other papers, anterior to 1689, belonging to the Mather papers, calendared in the *Catalogue of the Prince Library* (Boston, 1870,) and printed in the *Mass. Historical Collections*, vol. xxxviii. Other manuscripts are in the library of the Essex Institute at Salem, and the printed *Collections* of that society contain various contemporary records of the trials, *etc.*,—those of Philip English, George Jacobs and Ann Pudeator, in vols. ii., iii. and iv. The indictment of Mary Osgood is in the Trumbull papers, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xlix., p. 174; and her examination, confession and recantation are given by Hutchinson. Cotton Mather's record of the case of Mercy Short, which he called *A Brand Plucked Out of the Burning*, is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society (*Proceedings*, April 29, 1874), and has not been printed. The personal assiduity of George Herrick in the persecutions is traced by S. P. Fowler in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 11.

The examination of Giles Corey was given by Pulsifer in 1823, in the Salem edition of Calef, and in Drake's appendix to his *Witchcraft Delusion*. Giles's will, made in view of his trial, July 25, 1692, is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, 1856, p. 32. Corey and his fate (pressing to death) is the subject of a tragedy by Longfellow, and Miss Mary E. Wilkins has taken the same subject for a drama.

Some of the deficiencies in the records of the Court at Salem are supplied by the reports of the trials, which are given by Thomas Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. ii. (1767), and the documents which he prints were probably taken from the Court files, and are

no longer known to exist. He speaks of these papers as "original examinations" that had fallen into his hands. These give his narrative the value of an original source. Mr. William F. Poole in 1870 found among the Hutchinson papers in the State Archives what proved to be an early draft of Hutchinson's account, which as printed by the writer was abridged. This ampler text was communicated by Mr. Poole to the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, October, 1870, and was printed separately as *The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, from an unpublished manuscript (an early draft of his History of Massachusetts) in the Massachusetts Archives, with notes by William F. Poole* (Boston,1870, pp. 43). The annotations are useful to the student.

Hutchinson, who wrote seventy years after the events, gave the first really judicial examination of the problem, and his conclusions were summed up thus: "A little attention must force conviction that the whole was a scene of fraud and imposture, begun by young girls, who at first perhaps thought of nothing more than being pitied and indulged, and continued by adult persons, who were afraid of being accused themselves. The one and the other, rather than confess their fraud, suffered the lives of so many innocents to be taken away, through the credulity of judges and juries." This judgment will probably be accepted to-day except by those who see more in hypnotism than is yet proved.

Within the last thirty years there have been some sharp controversies over various aspects of the manifestations at Salem, in which Charles W. Upham, William F. Poole, Peleg W. Chandler, George H. Moore and Abner C. Goodell, Jr., have been the chief contestants.

In 1867, Mr. Upham of Salem, who had published some popular *Lectures on Salem Witchcraft* in 1831 and again in 1832, returned to the subject and made public what is still

the most elaborate account of the troubles, in his *Salem Witchcraft, with an account of Salem Village and a history of opinion on witchcraft and kindred subjects* (Boston, 1867, in two volumes). His narrative is summarized in C. E. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft in outline* (Salem, 1891). It was contended in the larger work of 1867, that Cotton Mather was largely responsible for creating an active agency of persecution by fostering a morbid condition in the public mind, and for instigating and promoting the work of the Court; and that his professed rejection of spectral evidence was nullified by his positive rejoicings at conviction, under such evidence. On these points Upham was controverted by William F. Poole in a review of the book in the *North American Review*, April, 1869, which was reprinted separately as *Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft* (Boston, 1869), in which Mather was defended from those charges and Calef held up to scorn. Upham replied in a longer paper, *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*, originally printed in the *Historical Magazine*, Sept., 1869, and appearing also separately. He reënforced the position taken in his book, showed how contemporary opinion held Mather responsible for a large part of the instigation, examined in this light the publications of both the Mathers and printed from the *Transactions* of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1831, vol. ii., 313, a letter written "17th, 6 m., 1692," to John Foster, in which Cotton Mather adhered to a belief in the propriety of employing spectral evidence. Upham also supported the validity of Robert Calef's protestations.

Abner C. Goodell, Jr., commended this reply in the *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register*, 1870, and Dr. George E. Ellis, in a memoir of Mr. Upham (*Massachusetts Historical Proceedings*, Dec. 1876), says, "Mr. Upham was too thorough in his researches and too just and candid in his judgments to misread, pervert or color his material." Mr. Poole made no extensive rejoinder, but reprinted

from the newspapers two brief papers in response on *Cotton Mather and Witchcraft* (Boston, 1870); and made a useful survey of the literature of the subject later in the *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), vol. ii.

At a meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct., 1882, George H. Moore of the Lenox Library, read a paper, which appeared in the Society's *Proceedings*, and later separately as *Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, with illustrative documents* (Worcester, 1883). In this paper Dr. Moore took exception to some accepted propositions:

First,—He objected to Hutchinson's statement that there was no capital law in Massachusetts against witchcraft,—a statement copied by George Chalmers in his *Political Annals*,—and he discussed the relations of the common law and then existing statutes.

Second,—He denied that there was no lawyer employed in the proceeding, claiming that professional standing for Thomas Newton, the prosecuting attorney.

Third,—He denied that the bill drafted twenty years later and reversing the attainders of those convicted ever became a law.

Fourth,—He averred that no adequate recompense to those who suffered, or to their representatives, was ever made by the legislature.

In June, 1883, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., contributed to the *Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings*, vol. xx., a paper, published also separately as *Further Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts, containing additional evidence of the passage of the act of 1711, for reversing the attainders of the witches; also affirming the legality of the special court of Oyer and Terminer of 1692* (Cambridge, 1884). In this Mr. Goodell answered Dr. Moore in the earlier part of the tract, and aroused another antagonist in the latter part. He accepted Dr. Moore's first and second

propositions, but demurred to his third and fourth. He produced a facsimile of the bill of 1711 and contended that it became a law. He showed that the General Court appropriated £578.12.0 to the sufferers or their representatives, as a "fair equivalent," and that it was accepted as such.

Emory Washburn in his *Judicial History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1840,) and Peleg W. Chandler in his *American Criminal Trials* (Boston, 1841, vol. i.) had said that the court for trying the witches had been illegally instituted by Phips—the power to set it up resting with the General Court. It was to this position that Goodell took exception in the close of his paper in June. At the meeting in September, a letter from Mr. Chandler defending his counter views was read, and replied to by Goodell. At the December meeting, Chandler communicated another letter and in February, 1884, Goodell made a new rejoinder.

In March, 1884, Dr. Moore contributed to the Historical Society's *Proceedings*, another paper, which was also printed separately as *Supplementary Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts: a critical examination of the alleged law of 1711, for reversing the attainders of the witches of 1692* (Cambridge, 1884). At the same meeting Mr. Goodell replied, giving *Reasons for concluding that the Act of 1711 became a law.*

The contest closed with a paper by Dr. Moore, *Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts: a summary vindication of the laws and liberties concerning attainders with corruption of blood, escheats, forfeitures for crime and pardon of offenders, in reply to the Reasons*, etc. (New York, 1885). In this he again denied the validity of the alleged law of 1711, and in an appendix sided with Chandler against Goodell, in the controversy over the legality of the Court. This latter argument he had read to the New York Historical Society in March, 1885.

Dr. Moore's last communication upon the Salem events

was not controversial, but was an examination of the order of appearance of the contemporary books and tracts upon the Delusion. It appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1888, and was printed separately as *Bibliographical Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts* (Worcester, 1888).

There remains, for the full comprehension of the literature of New England witchcraft, to mention some of the more general accounts of the events. About sixty or seventy years ago, there grew up a renewed interest in the phenomena, and there were three publications at the time which excited some attention. The *Lectures on Salem Witchcraft*, by C. W. Upham (already mentioned); James Thacher's *Essay on Demonology*, with an account of the witchcraft delusion (Boston, 1831); and Abel Cushing's *Historical letters on the first charter of Massachusetts government* (Boston, 1839), which was largely concerned with the trouble. The accounts in Hildreth's *United States* (vol. ii.), Barry's *Massachusetts* (vol. ii.), and Palfrey's *New England*, are all safe in their deductions; but neither these writers nor that of the chapter in vol. ii. of Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, have much patience with Cotton Mather. The best of the English accounts is that of J. A. Doyle in his *Puritan Colonies*, where he gives some sensible conclusions on the origin and sustenance of the delusion. There are essays on the subject in "Curiosities of Puritan History—Witchcraft," in *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1853 (vol. ii., 249), and a recent one in Henry Ferguson's *Essays in American History* (N. Y., 1894). Some local memorabilia by Winfield S. Nevins will be found in the *New England Magazine* (vol. v.), December, 1891, p. 517, and January, 1892, pp. 665, 716. I know no extensive bibliography of the subject. Some of the essential titles are given in a separate section of the *Brinley Catalogue*.

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW COMMUNITIES AND STATES IN THE NORTHWEST.

BY CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.

VERY little strictly relevant to the objects of this Society ought to be expected from a paper by one who has always lived in Wisconsin and Minnesota. These States have no antiquities, although they possess a very considerable history. It has, nevertheless, occurred to me that some details may not be entirely uninteresting concerning the construction of new communities and States in the Northwest, which have been the subjects of personal observation and reflection, by one who has seen the process, and has been from early life in close contact with the men who began the work, and with the conditions under which it has been performed. Such observations may, in a slight degree, have some relevancy to other questions of importance and difficulty.

As civilization advances toward perfection, the desire increases to know the secrets of its beginnings. The question is asked, out of what situations and relations grew this or that institution, and by what processes was it established? What were the customs, manners, morals of the primitive man? Homer is questioned. Etruscan pottery is interrogated. The inscriptions on Assyrian bricks and Egyptian stones are deciphered. The derivatives from ancient languages are traced. Family records are exhumed. The books of mediæval guilds are studied. Genealogies are constructed. The writers of old letters address themselves to correspondents who live centuries after them. Municipal, mercantile and legal memorials

are sought for. Vast arches of speculative thought are sprung over the widest intervals of space and time. Mr. Douglas Campbell attempts to prove that the influence of the Dutch upon the Puritans was impressive to a degree heretofore unsuspected. Sir Henry Maine by a wonderful exertion of juridical and archaic induction endeavors to demonstrate that the recently published Brehon laws of earliest Ireland were derived, in that immemorial migration of the Aryan race, from the precepts and ordinances of the Hindoos, alike applicable to the family, the clan, the tribe, the caste, the nation. He ascends a stream, divergent from the great flood, to Italy, and proves beyond doubt, I think, that certain important Roman institutions were developed from the same origin, and that, in a large and general identity of outline, they were substantially the same with those of the ancient Irish tribes. Much of all this research is chiefly interesting because it teaches how human nature and human intellect act when they are compelled or have the voluntary opportunity to form that social organization called a State.

And yet, with all this study of extreme antiquity which so often to the student, like Oblivion to Sir Thomas Browne, "mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not," there has taken place in the sight of the investigator of the present day, a constructive process, which, making all allowance for the influence of precedents immediately connected with it, gives answer to many of these questions. Though not entirely neglected, this contemporaneous development has not perhaps received sufficient steady attention. If we can see primeval man at work in our own time, we can determine quite accurately what his performance was in the undiscoverable ages. In investigating antiquity we should deeply consider our own times, for they are the oldest. This was Francis Bacon's truth who said, "and to speak truly *antiquitas saeculi juventus mundi.* These times are the ancient times, when the

world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient, *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backwards from ourselves."

The effect of the irruption of alien races can also be discerned in some of the new States. The coalescence of several stocks and the production of a new type are visibly taking place. This process is one of the most recondite topics of speculative history, and it is frequently of impenetrable obscurity. And yet such influx, intermixture and modification have been operative peacefully in the United States on a scale so vast as to offer most accurate results to enlightened thought.

The settlement of that portion of the Northwest which we are now considering began about sixty years ago. There was then little immigration from Europe. That tide set in after the famine in Ireland, and after the revolutionary disturbances in 1848 upon the continent, and when the courses had been made for it by the extension of railroads to our western frontier. The consequence was that the pioneers were men of American ancestry from all the Northern States. They were young men who had not been ineffaceably impressed by the institutions and methods of the communities of their birth. They were plastic to the new situation, and to the various theories and methods thus brought into comparative competition. Very few of them intended to work for wages. Most of the immigrants sought farms; the others were professional and business men. It was a select multitude physically and mentally. Its members were aggressively self-asserting, and each one brought to the new community which he was to help to construct, a conception of methods of his native State.

Settlements were often made on the bases of State origin. The community in which I was reared was Waukesha, Wisconsin. It was settled almost entirely by people of New England ancestry whose fathers had gone

into New York at the beginning of the present century. Their descendants preserved with great distinctness the New England methods and customs of the early times, unmodified by the changes which took place afterwards in the parent States. The village was a New England town. The first Church was Congregational. My earliest recollections are of that bleak, comfortless meeting-house. It was insufficiently heated. The old ladies kept their feet warm during the long service by resting them upon little boxes filled with coals. In the summer these same good women nodded over large bunches of caraway and dill. A Puritanic shoemaker kept the boys in order. The sermons were long and doctrinal, and two were preached every Sunday. The minister had a sort of authority over the temporal affairs of his congregation. The belief in special providences and in the immediate efficacy of prayer was implicit.

That Church was openly abolitionist. Its members prayed for Torrey during his tribulations in Baltimore. They hid fugitive slaves who had escaped from north-eastern Missouri. Sometimes when the lake ports were closed, or were too closely watched, some farmer, aided by contributions from his neighbors, would transport the slave in his wagon, travelling nights when necessary, from Waukesha, around the southern end of Lake Michigan to Windsor in Canada, opposite to Detroit.

I remember well the first negro I ever saw. It was early one Saturday morning, and there was no school that day. I had made ready my little fishing-rod the night before, intending to commence early, when fish are eager for their breakfast bite, in the hope of catching a mythical bass of huge proportions which all boys said lay near a large stone in the river that ran through my father's farm. I hurried through my breakfast and rushed into the wood-shed where I kept my rod. Within stood a man who was as black as midnight darkness. I was then reading The

Pilgrim's Progress and, in my fright, believed that I confronted Apollyon himself, and that his purpose then and there was, as John Bunyan said, "to spill my soul." But his smile reassured me. He put some sinkers on my line. I observed that he made them of buckshot taken from a pouch that hung upon a gun which he carried. He had been hid in the barn over night and was waiting in the woodshed for his breakfast.

The town meeting was an important institution in that community. Everybody attended. Nothing was considered without debate. I remember that it was very earnest, and I have no doubt it was very able.

This factor of self-government has ceased to exist in the Northwest. The population soon became mixed, and many were foreign born, to whom such an institution was utterly strange. So it passed away. The town ceased to be the primary political unit, and became the geographical congressional township, six miles square. The elective action of the people was applied to the choice of the county officers, to whose administration the most important interests of the people of every county were finally committed. The towns ceased to be considered as in themselves a basis of legislative representation. The consequence has been changed methods of town and county government, through general or special statutes, by boards of administration under various names. That this should be so was probably inevitable. Any intelligent community is quite sure to adopt the processes of government best suited to its conditions and limitations.

The new system has undoubtedly destroyed much of the individualism which the former system produced. The leaders in the town, the men of strong conviction and mighty in debate, have disappeared. The men who were and who could do all this are still there, and a few of them display their qualities in the broader and more general field.

The lesson taught by this is the tendency to centralize government in all communities in which the original scheme is subjected to the pressure of new accessions of population by invasion or immigration. This pressure has been as irresistible in our time as it was at the first emergence of man into the state of government, from family, through clan and tribe, to nation. It has been in powerful operation in the United States ever since the war. The social structure of the South, based as it was upon the master and the slave, by its very primitive simplicity, generated and finally made militant the doctrines of State rights. This was the civilized aspect of the almost indomitable assertion in ruder ages of the independence of the clan or tribe. The warlike resistance of the slave power to the resistless process of social and State evolution was the same that was made in the earliest times by the family, the clan, the tribe, the caste, against those consolidating processes which are the cause and the condition of that ultimate differentiation of functions and organization, in which consists the perfection of every material, ideal or social existence.

Minnesota became a territory in 1849. Its first political centres were the business houses of the factors of the rival fur companies. These men were surrounded by retainers as devoted and unscrupulous as any clansmen. The lumberman who came from Maine soon entered into competition with these chieftains. The result was a rude division of political power. In the course of a few years such an influx as I have described broke down the narrow exclusiveness of its predecessors. A spirit of enterprise took possession of the people, and it was far-sighted, aggressive and able.

In 1854 there was not a railroad within 300 miles of the city of St. Paul. Minnesota did not then contain 40,000 white people. The stigmatic words "the Great American Desert" extended across the school maps of that region.

There was not a practical railroad man in the Territory. Under these conditions a few young men who saw far into the "visioned future" conceived and put into the coercive form of statutes, federal and territorial, the present railway system of Minnesota. It radiates from St. Paul and Minneapolis like the spokes of an immense wheel, extending far beyond the limits of the State, and is represented by not less than ten thousand miles of constructed railways.

In 1857 it became certain that Minnesota would soon be admitted into the Union with its present boundaries, leaving that part of its former area which is now a very large portion of the States of North Dakota and South Dakota without any government whatever, and with no provision for the organization of one by the people who should go there.

The governmental instinct immediately instructed some of the pioneers of Minnesota that a new commonwealth must be formed upon this reliction. Accordingly, without authority from Congress, these founders proceeded to that region. They established counties and towns; provided for courts; convened a legislature; enacted and printed a body of statutes. They elected a delegate to Congress, but were denied recognition as a territory. They then proceeded to establish a State government; they adopted a constitution, elected a governor and other officers, and demanded admittance into the Union on an equal footing with the original States. The civil war and the Sioux massacre of 1862 blasted this enterprise in its early stage of experimentation.

I do not suppose that any one of these modern Trojans ever heard of Æneas, or of a precisely similar process, by which the hunter pioneers of Tennessee in 1772 organized the government of Watauga under the first written compact for civil rule ever made west of the Alleghenies; and afterwards in 1784 established the State of Frankland.

These performances in Tennessee and in what is now South Dakota, the details of which have been thoroughly preserved, indicate as clearly as do the earliest records of the human race what man will do and how he will do it, when, without any guide or restraint excepting his natural reason and instinct, he places himself where he must set up a government. They disclose also, what such primeval records do not distinctly show, precisely to what extent and how little civilized man has modified the methods of the primitive man. In earliest times and latest times alike, the indigenous inhabitant is to be driven out and a new polity established. Little respect is paid to the supremacy or territorial claims of the so-called parent State.

The most interesting subject of sociology and nascent government presented at the present time is Africa. It were greatly to be wished that something like the different corps of observers and classifiers described by Francis Bacon in the New Atlantis, could be organized for the study of this most interesting evolution of humanity in the dark continent. I believe that within a very few years the diversion of migration to that immense region will happily solve some of the malign conditions of the problem of immigration which is now perplexing those statesmen of the United States who see into our affairs a little beyond day after tomorrow.

There was not in the instances in the Northwest thus cursorily suggested, as in the settlement of New England, any controlling impulse of religion or conscience. Consequently they present certain archaic and rudimentary features for which the establishment of the New England colonies does not afford a precedent.

The collision of invading civilization with barbarism frequently destroys the memorials of the event by the violence of the process. As to the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota, however, the people of that State feel a most commendable pride in the result of their intercourse as

disclosed by recent and authentic history. This type of Indians drove the Sioux out of the wooded portions of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River about one hundred and seventy-five years ago. The Sioux became the prairie Indian, to whom no particular forethought was necessary. He owned horses. A few hunters could kill in a day enough buffalo to feed, in the shape of dried meat and pemmican, the entire band for months, and to house and clothe it with the skins. The village could strike its tents, load all its belongings on ponies and be a hundred miles away, for purposes of war or peace, in a few hours. This people became warriors of the greatest skill, bravery and ferocity. It will be difficult to reclaim them. I think the Chippewa is of a better type than his hereditary foe. However this may be, the conditions in which he and his forefathers have lived have produced a race more docile, pacific and humane than the Sioux, though not less manly and brave. The Chippewa has no horses. He lives in a wooded country, into which the buffalo never penetrated, dotted with numerous lakes and traversed by many rivers. He, therefore, produces that ideal of boat building—the birch-bark canoe. He must be provident, so he gathers the wild rice for his winter's subsistence. The vast forests wherein he lives make long journeys difficult at all times and impossible in the winter, and he is thus confined to a fixed habitat. He cuts fuel, builds a log cabin, can go on no long war-path.

Civilization has dealt with him quite successfully. The Church and State have found him tractable and teachable. There are of that people 7,000 in Minnesota and they are increasing. The Indian population upon the White Earth reservation in 1891 was 1,204. They raised that year 162,000 bushels of cereals besides other crops, and being expert woodsmen, produced 17,600,260 feet of pine lumber. They have been taken into the mass of citizenship and they vote.

These results are so different from those of primitive, or even recent man in his contact with barbarous aborigines that I do not know that any historical light radiates from this contemporary experience.

I have little doubt that the disposition of this people was first made tractable by the French who commenced dealing with them more than two hundred years ago, and whose intercourse was constant and exclusive until the peace of Paris in 1763. After that date the Frenchman of the whole or mixed blood was the servant, trapper, trader and negotiator for the factors of the great British and American fur companies, which were the precursors of civilization in that region. The French have always succeeded in maintaining amicable relations with the Indians. The French priests have ventured and lived for years among them, at times and in places where no missionary of our own race could do so. The French soldier or civilian has always maintained peace when the representatives of all other races have provoked war.

The reason for this is found in the character of that people,—its politeness, cheerfulness, adaptability,— all summed up in that one word, Tact, which expresses qualities of nearly equal importance with that other more pretentious word, Genius. Their memory is preserved in the names, apostolic or profane, of cities, counties, lakes, rivers. Two hundred years ago they had established themselves in Minnesota, south and far west of St. Paul. They had one fort at Lake Pepin, and another on the Blue Earth River. The sites of these structures cannot be discovered. The last river was named from the blue clay which forms its bed and banks. The commandant at Fort L'Huillier, conceiving that this earth received its color from the copper which he erroneously supposed it to contain, sent a large quantity of it to France for extraction of the ore. It was floated down the Blue Earth into the Minnesota River, thence by way of the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Impressive and peaceful as was the influence of the French, no tradition of any value remains of them among the Indians. They have no tradition of the sites of the forts. I have frequently improved the favorable opportunities which I have possessed for many years, in questioning closely the most intelligent of the Indians for some memorials respecting the French occupancy. The answers are so vague as to make it doubtful if anything has been handed down. The American Indian is the least traditional of men. He has no ballads—those mnemonics of unlettered races;—not enough pride apparently in the warlike achievements of his ancestors to preserve their memories for more than three generations. The most one can get from an Indian is some very slight recollection of what he heard his grandfather say concerning his own time.

The most important social and political problem, not only in the Northwest but in every part of the country, is doubtless presented by the multitudes of foreign born people who have come among us within the last fifty years in such numbers that they and their descendants now compose a very large proportion of our population.

Minnesota has received her share of this accession within the last twenty-five years. She has Irish, French, Germans, Scandinavians, Italians, Bohemians, Poles, Finns and Russians, and taken together they are a very large *per centum* of her people. Most of these immigrants have taken farms, although a portion somewhat undue has remained in the cities. The Finns are nearly all in the mines. I have studied the effect of this influx ever since it became at all noticeable. I am convinced that it is not only presently most beneficial, but that the future historian will record it as one of the most benign events in our history.

It is particularly remarkable that these people, notwithstanding their great, and sometimes (in the strife of

evenly balanced parties) decisive, political power, have very seldom sought to impose upon our system any of the methods of their native countries. They adapt themselves with surprising facility to our institutions. They have not sought to change or modify our system of common schools. They are contented with the principles of our municipal government. They have not attacked our methods of taxation. They are satisfied with our judicial system. They can be relied upon in war.

There is doubtless some inconvenience of intercourse. This always occurs when diverse peoples are brought into the most peaceful contact. The blame for the irritation is nearly always equally on each party. The thing to be considered is what will be the character one hundred years from now of the descendants of the present population of such a State as Minnesota. I am convinced that, taking into consideration the elements of this people and the climate in which they live and are thriving, their descendants will by intermarriage form one of the finest examples that the world has ever seen of a new type or modification of the great race-family to which we belong.

Encouraging as this hope is, it is not to be denied that there are questions in this complex problem that are not so soluble in their application to the entire people of the United States. Quite recently the quality of the immigrants has been deteriorated by the idle, the vicious, the socialist, who is in fact an anarchist. They lodge in the great cities. It is no part of their purpose to acquire any stake in the country such as their own proprietary homes. They hold courts in derision and government generally in contempt. Many of them are propagandists. They have brought the deserving and desirable immigrant into disrepute. It is clearly the duty of the United States, while it promotes immigration, to exercise to the fullest extent all its powers to exclude and suppress the idle, the vicious, criminal and destructive alien.

The African has not been a factor in the Northwest. Many of them are there, but their gregarious instinct keeps them in the cities. I have never known one of this race to avail himself of the homestead or timber culture law and thus acquire a home for himself and family. I do not believe that there is an African farmer in Minnesota, and I never knew more than one in Wisconsin. This is not so in the South, although the progress there of the colored man in this direction since his emancipation has not been entirely satisfactory. I think the African will, in times to come, be a source of great production and power in the United States. He will always be a race by himself, but he is tractable; he stands for law and order; his people have not yet produced an anarchist; he loves the American flag; he has fought and will fight for it.

I am aware how discursive everything that I have said has been. It is presented in the hope that it may be suggestive of research and thought by those who are privileged to enjoy, without the interruption of business or political duties, those calm delights of thought and study by which literature, society and the State have always been benefited so much and so permanently.

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL FROM A STRATEGIC POINT OF VIEW.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

NINE days ago, on the 14th of this month, commemorative services were held in Boston by the Bunker Hill Monument Association, in honor of Col. William Prescott, that being the centennial anniversary of Col. Prescott's death. An oration marked by a high order of eloquence and much valuable reflection was then delivered by Dr. William Everett. In listening to Dr. Everett, however, I waited curiously in expectation of one line of thought which apparently did not occur to him. A text for that line of thought might have been found in Chancellor Oxenstiern's famous remark as to "the little wisdom with which the world is governed"; or, in another remark made by Frederick the Great somewhere between the second and third Silesian wars, in which he announced that never again in his life would he voluntarily engage in warfare "even with a cat," because in the conflicts in which he had already been concerned, he had been led to notice how much the result depended on chance.

The battle of Bunker Hill was a marked illustration of the truth of both these remarks, affording, as it does, one of the most singular examples on record of what might be called the "balancing of blunders" between opposing sides. So far as the American, or what we call the Patriot cause, was concerned, it ought to have resulted in irretrievable disaster, for on no correct military principle could the operation be defended; and yet, owing to the superior capacity for blundering of the British commanders, the movement was in its actual results a brilliant

success, and, indeed, could hardly have been made more so had the American commanders controlled for that occasion the movements of both sides, and so issued orders to their opponents. Looking over the accounts of that battle and examining the maps of the ground upon which it was fought, it is difficult to understand how the Americans could knowingly have put themselves in such an absurd position; much more how the British should have so utterly failed to take advantage of the mistakes of their inexperienced opponents.

In 1775, Charlestown, including Breed's Hill, was a peninsula of limited size and hilly formation, connected with the mainland by a single narrow causeway, which was, at times of sufficiently high tide, itself overflowed. When, therefore, on the night of the 16th-17th June, Col. Prescott led his force across the causeway and established it upon Breed's Hill, he put himself and those who followed him in a trap where, with an enemy having complete control of the sea, and so commanding his rear and both flanks, it was merely necessary to snap the door and hold him utterly powerless either to escape or resist. He had literally thrust his head into the lion's mouth.

When, therefore, the guns of their ships woke up the British officers in Boston on the morning of the 17th of June, had there been any, even a moderate, degree of military capacity in their commander, he would have ejaculated his fervent thanks to Heaven that his enemy had thus delivered himself into his hands; and proceeded incontinently to bag him. All he needed to do was to move a sufficient detachment round by water to the causeway connecting Charlestown with the mainland, seize it under cover of the fire of his ships and floating batteries, there establish himself, and quietly wait a few hours for the enemy to come down to surrender, or come out to be killed. Probably it would not have been necessary for him to fire a gun; for his enemy had not even

placed himself upon the summit of Bunker Hill, which commanded Charlestown Neck, but had absolutely moved forward to the lower summit of Breed's Hill, between Bunker Hill and Boston, from which point, with a powerful and well equipped enemy in undisputed control of the water, he would have been unable to escape and powerless to annoy. In the position of a rat when the door of a trap is securely sprung behind it, for the Americans the only alternative to an ignominious surrender would have been a general engagement, in which, a mere mob, they must attack a well-armed and disciplined opponent, on ground of his own selection and covered by the fire of his fleet. Such an engagement, under the circumstances then existing, could, apparently, have had but one result. The patriot forces must have been routed and dispersed; for, hardly more than a partially armed militia muster, they were without organization or discipline, and only inadequately supplied with weapons, artillery or munitions.

The untenable position into which the patriots had blundered, and the course to pursue in dealing with them, were, from a military point of view, so obvious, that, in the council of war then held, it was at once urged, it is said, by a majority of the British officers with Clinton at their head. Instead of following it, a sufficient force of British was sent across to Charlestown, landed directly in the face of their enemy, and proceeded to take the American entrenchments by assault; finally, after great loss, doing so, and absolutely driving the rat out of the trap, of which the British commander had left the door wide open.

A more singular exhibition of apparently unconscious temerity on one side, and professional military incapacity on the other, it would be difficult to imagine.

Under these circumstances, it becomes somewhat curious to consider the actuating causes of the operations on that day. Who was responsible for what took place?

It is sometimes claimed that, so far as the Americans

were concerned, their object was to force the fight with a view to firing the colonial heart, and that the result entirely justified the calculation. This may be true. Nevertheless, on the other side, it is apparent that, unless the American commanders calculated with absolute certainty upon the utter incapacity of their opponents, by the precise move then made they placed the cause which they had at heart in most imminent jeopardy. If, instead of attacking the American line in front exactly at the point where it was prepared for attack and ready to resist, the British had operated by sea and land in their rear, it is difficult to see what could have saved the patriot cause from a complete collapse. If Colonel Prescott and his detachment had been obliged to surrender, and been marched prisoners into Boston, it would only have remained for Gage, by a vigorous movement from Charlestown in the direction of Cambridge, only two miles away, to have dispersed the patriot army, and made any further organized armed resistance practically impossible. It is quite out of the question to suppose that those who assumed to guide the patriot operations could have measured this risk, and then knowingly have taken it. There are limits to any amount of rashness, except that of ignorance.

While the course which should have been pursued by the British commander was thus apparent, the theory of the patriots is more difficult to explain. The action taken on the night of June 16 had been decided upon at a counsel of civilians and military officers held at Cambridge. In accordance with the recommendations contained in a report of the Board of Engineers, it was then deemed desirable to occupy Bunker's Hill. At the same time, however, provision was to be made for apparently a simultaneous occupation of Winter and Prospect Hills on the other, or land, side of Charlestown Neck. This plan of operations is at once intelligible. If, at the same time that Bunker Hill was occupied, Prospect and Winter Hills

also had been occupied, the patriot army would have commanded Charlestown Neck, and, by preventing a landing there, could have kept communication open between their army and the advanced force thrown out and in occupation of the Charlestown peninsula. To do this successfully, implied, it is true, the control of a body of artillery and munitions far in excess of what the provincial force had; but still, from a military point of view the plan was well conceived, and, if successfully carried out, would have compelled the immediate evacuation of Boston.

But, had this line of operation been pursued, it would have been quite needless to occupy Breed's Hill, inasmuch as that was commanded by Bunker Hill, and could have been seized at any time.

If such was the general plan of operations under which Colonel Prescott's movement of the 16th of June was ordered, the next question is, who was responsible for its failure? Its success involved two things,—first, the seizing of Bunker's Hill; and, secondly, and at the same time, the erection of works upon Prospect and Winter Hills, or the high ground at the base of those hills commanding Charlestown Neck and the adjacent water. It is impossible to ascertain who, if any one, was then in command of the left wing of the provincial army. If any one, it was Putnam. During the following day he was most active in all parts of the field, and seems to have been recognized as the general officer in command of the entire field of operations, while unquestionably Colonel Prescott was in immediate command of the detachment on Bunker's Hill. He occupied the position of a brigadier-general whose command was in action; while Putnam held the position of chief of the grand division of which Prescott's command was a part. Certainly, on the night succeeding the engagement, General Putnam was sufficiently active in holding and fortifying Prospect Hill, and was then recognized as in command of the left wing of Ward's

army. If, therefore, any one was responsible for the failure to carry out that essential part of the original plan of operations which included the fortification of the ground which commanded Charlestown Neck from the land side, it was Putnam.

But the truth probably is that no one was responsible. The lack of organization in the patriot army was then such, that no distinctive and recognized officer was in command of the left wing. Prescott had his orders direct from the headquarters at Cambridge; and the other officers with separate commands seem, throughout what took place, to have taken orders, or declined to take them, pretty much as they saw fit.

It is, however, useless to venture surmises on this head. The essential fact is that Prescott was ordered to march across Charlestown Neck and to occupy Bunker Hill; and did so, leaving his rear wholly unprotected. After that, on his own responsibility, he exposed himself to great additional risk by advancing from the summit of Bunker Hill, from which he overlooked both Breed's Hill in his front, and his single line of retreat across Charlestown Neck in his rear, to the lower summit before him, at which point he was helplessly in the trap, unless his opponent, by coming at him in front, drove him bodily out of the hole in which he had put himself. They did just that!

As I have said, the singular thing in all these operations, from beginning to end, is that, if the patriot army had been commanded by a military genius of the highest order, and gifted with absolute prescience,—having, moreover, the power to issue commands to both sides,—he could not, so far as the Americans were concerned, have bettered the course of events. The whole purpose of the move was to forestall the proposed operations of the British, who planned on the 18th, only a day later, to occupy Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights preliminary to an advance on

the patriot lines at Cambridge. It was intended to draw their fire. If, in doing this, Prescott had, in obedience to his orders and as technically he unquestionably should have done, contented himself with seizing Bunker Hill and there intrenching, it can hardly be questioned that the British would then have landed on Charlestown Neck, immediately in his rear, and forced him to retreat precipitately as the alternative to surrender. His very reckless audacity in moving forward to Breed's Hill led to their attacking him squarely in front.

Had Prescott directed the assaulting column he would have ordered it to do just that. But his good fortune did not end here. Twice he repulsed the attacking force, inflicting terrible loss upon it; and this is his great claim for credit on that memorable day. Prescott was evidently a fighter. He showed that by his forward movement from Bunker to Breed's Hill; and he showed it still more by the way in which he kept a levy of raw ploughmen steady there during the trying hours that preceded conflict, and then, in face of the advancing line of regulars, made them hold their fire until he gave the word. This was superb, —it deserves unstinted praise. Again the luck of the Americans soared in the ascendant. Under the exact conditions in which they then found themselves, they had chanced on the right man in the right place,—and it was one chance in a thousand.

And then following yet more good luck,—indeed a crowning stroke. Twice did Prescott repulse his enemy. Had he done so a third time he would have won a victory, held his position, and the next day, in all human probability, been compelled to surrender because of properly conducted operations in his rear under cover of the British fleet. For it is impossible to suppose that Clinton's advice would not then have been followed. Fortunately for Prescott, his ammunition gave out before the third assault, and his adversaries then drove him out of his trap and into

the arms of his own friends. In spite of himself he was saved from ultimate disaster. Yet curiously enough, he does not even seem to have realized his luck; for, instead of going back to the headquarters of Gen. Ward, as well he might have gone, in a towering rage over the incompetence which had put him and his command in such a position, without reason or support,—a position from which he had escaped only by a chance in a thousand;—in place of taking this view of the matter, he actually offered, if a fresh force of 1,500 were put under his command, to recross Charlestown Neck and recapture Bunker Hill the next day,—in other words, to go back into the trap from which the stupidity of his opponents had forcibly driven him.

The original plan of operations matured by the Cambridge Council, including, as it did, the simultaneous occupation of both Prospect and Bunker Hills, was, therefore, bold, well conceived, calculated to produce the results desired, and entirely practicable; assuming always that the patriot army had the necessary artillery and ammunition to equip and defend the works it was proposed to construct. Such was not the case; but, doubtless under the circumstances, something had to be risked, and this move involved probably no more peril than any other which could have been devised.

This plan, thoroughly good as a mere plan, was, however, executed in part only, and in such a way as to expose the provincial army and cause to disaster of the worst kind. And yet, through the chances of war,—the pure luck of the patriots,—every oversight they were guilty of and blunder they committed, worked to their advantage and contributed to the success of their operations. They completely drew the British fire and forestalled their contemplated offensive operations, throwing them on the defensive; they inspired their own men with confidence in themselves, filling them with an aggressive spirit; they

fired the continental ardor; and, finally, the force engaged was extricated from a false and impossible position, after inflicting severe punishment on their opponents. For that particular occasion and under the circumstances Cromwell or Frederick or Napoleon in command would probably have accomplished less; for with the means at disposal, they never would have dared to take such risks, nor would they ever have thrust themselves into such an utterly untenable position.

To penetrate the mind and plan of an opponent,—to pluck out the heart of his counsel and to make dispositions accordingly, has ever been dwelt upon as one of the chief attributes of the highest military genius,—Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus, Marlborough, Frederick, Napoleon, all possessed it in a noticeable degree. Possibly, Gen. Ward and Col. Prescott may instinctively have acted in obedience to this high military quality on the 16th and 17th of June, 1775. If so they certainly developed a capacity for which the world has not since given them credit, and the immediate results justified to the fullest extent their apparently almost childlike reliance on the combined professional incapacity and British bull-headedness of Gen. Thomas Gage.

Forty years later another, and very similar display, was made of the same characteristics, with even more disastrous results. Gen. Jackson was almost as completely in the power of his antagonist before New Orleans in 1815 as was Col. Prescott on Bunker Hill in 1775. To assault his intrenchments in face was there an act of mere military folly. All the British commander had to do was to avail himself of his complete command of the water, and while he held his enemy by demonstrations on his front, to transfer a force to the right bank of the river, before the advance of which New Orleans would have to fall of necessity. It would only have remained for Jackson to come out of his intrenchments and assail his opponent protected

by the guns of his fleet, or to abandon New Orleans without a battle. Under these very similar circumstances Packenham in 1815 did just as Gage did in 1775. He butted against intrenchments.

Yet in one respect the battle of Bunker Hill was, in reality, epochal. Prescott did not occupy Breed's Hill and begin to throw up his intrenchments until midnight of the 16th-17th of June. Thus his men had but four hours in which to work before the break of day disclosed their whereabouts. Yet when, less than twelve hours later, the British stormed the field-works, they were amazed at their completeness and could not believe that they had all been thrown up in a single summer's night. It was something new in warfare.

Rather more than a year ago I passed a day on the field of Waterloo, and, immediately after, another at Sedan. While surveying the two battlefields I could not understand what the English in the first case and the French in the second had been at. My experience of active warfare was drawn from the campaigns of Virginia, and thirty years back; but in those campaigns nothing had been of more ordinary observation than the strength and perfect character of the field intrenchments which both armies habitually threw up for their protection. Such skill in the alignment and construction of these works did the ordinary soldier acquire that a few hours always sufficed to transform an ordinary camping ground into a well intrenched camp. In the case of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington had long before selected it as his battle ground; had caused a topographical survey to be made of it; he arrived there from Quatre-Bras twenty hours before the battle of Waterloo began; he made all his dispositions at his leisure. Yet not a spadefull of dirt seems to have been thrown; and the next day, while his line was exposed to the full discharge of Napoleon's famous artillery, the French cavalry rode unobstructed in and out among the English squares.

It seems to have been just the same more than half a century later at Sedan. Strategically, the French were there in almost as false a position as the Americans at Bunker Hill. They were in a hole,—rats in a trap. Tactically their position was by no means bad. Sedan secured and covered their centre; while their two wings were free to work on the high grounds behind, sloping sharply to the river. They occupied the inside of a curve with perfect facilities for the concentration of force by interior lines. A better opportunity, so far as the character of the ground and country was concerned, for the rapid throwing up of intrenchments and field-works, could not have been desired. The facilities were everywhere. MacMahon's army, when surprised and cornered in Sedan, was, it is true, on its march to Metz, and all was in confusion. But they had twelve hours' notice of what was inpending, and they fought on the ground on which they had slept. As I looked the field over, I could not but ask myself in utter bewilderment,—what were the French thinking of or doing all those hours?

Judging by the record of Bunker Hill, and my own recollections of what I saw habitually ninety years later in Virginia, if an army of either Federals or Confederates, as developed in 1865, had held the ground of the British at Waterloo, or the French at Sedan, the lines and intrenchments which on the days of battle would have confronted Napoleon and Von Moltke would have given them pause. Before those temporary works they would have seen their advancing columns melt away as did Gage at Bunker Hill and Packenham at New Orleans.

The simple fact seems to have been that, until the modern magazine gun made it an absolute necessity, digging was never considered a part of the soldier's training. Indeed it was looked upon as demoralizing. In the same way, the art of designing temporary field-works and camp intrenchments was not regarded as belonging to the

regimental officer's functions. The whole thing was looked down upon as something unprofessional and savoring of cowardice. Often during our war, have I heard hide-bound old West Point graduates, high in rank, lament over the tendency of our men to protect themselves by intrenchments wherever they camped. They said it made soldiers cowardly. As the old military martinets expressed it, they wanted the rank and file to be made "to stand up and fight man fashion." How often, in the olden days, have I heard that expression used! Yet their idea of fighting was apparently that of Wellington at Waterloo, and of MacMahon at Sedan. At either of those places our veterans of 1865 would have protected themselves with field-works, though they had only bayonets for picks and tin dippers for shovels.

Putnam, therefore, showed a very profound insight when, on the eve of Bunker Hill, he remarked, that as a soldier, the Yankee was peculiar. He did n't seem to care much about his head, but he was dreadfully afraid of his shins; cover him half-leg high and you could depend on him to fight. The fact is, as a fighting animal the Yankee is unquestionably observant. Breastworks are in battle handy to the assailed; and breastworks admit of rapid and easy construction. Prescott taught that lesson on the 17th of June, 1775. He did not realize it, and it took almost a century for the professional soldier to get it into his head, but those light temporary earth-works scientifically thrown up on Bunker Hill, in the closing hours of a single June night, introduced a new element into the defensive tactics of the battle-field. Its final demonstration was at Plevna, a whole century later.

ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL TEXT INSCRIBED ON TWO PALENQUE TABLETS.

BY PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI.

PART II.

As will be remembered, Part I. of this memoir was devoted to giving evidence of the fact that as far as our two Palenque tablets are concerned no images comparable to alphabetic characters were found forming the components of the engraved text. The 201 images we had to deal with turned out to be true *pictographs*, that is to say, sculptures representing objects either natural or manufactured.

Nicely cut as they are, their identification did not offer serious difficulties to one who is conversant with both symbolism and mannerism of the Central American artist. Later, when proceeding to classify the sundry components, they were found capable of being brought under the headings: chronologic dates, human profiles, idols, heads of animals, vessels, fruit, woven stuff, bundles and bags. That all these objects are of ritual character, could fairly be presumed from the fact of the tablets flanking the representation of a grand Sacrificial Scene. To strengthen this presumption, valuable support was derived from the authority of Bishop Landa, who in his "Cosas de Yucatan" took care to describe the curious paraphernalia connected with the religious ceremonial of the Maya priesthood. None of the ritual objects, as quoted by the Bishop, were found missing among those represented on our tablets, and no conclusion could be given to Part I. which was more likely to prove the correctness of our statements than

Landa's own words: "*All these objects can be seen graven, quasi in memoriam, on the walls of the temples and palaces.*" The pictographic character of our text, as a whole, and the ritual character of its individual components, therefore, appeared as definitely settled.

In Part II. we investigate a problem which is obviously inherent in, and not fairly separable from the former. We mean to attempt to ascertain what special message these two tablets were intended to deliver to posterity. To have picked out the sundry components from their context, to have subjected them to an examination of their pictographic value, and to have viewed them in the light of their classification,—all these steps must be judged as preparatory. Their aim could be no other than to clear ground upon which later on to raise, with the aid of the material gathered, a certain building—the building to be the syntactic construction of the text imbedded in the two tablets. We could not feel satisfied with the simple and exclusive gift of an analysis. It is but a natural impulse of curiosity to see the severed members of the text replaced in their tabular rank and file, and then to ascertain what special function they assume in their original combination, and how far they would contribute to the expression of an intelligible, definite thought, stated in a most novel way.

Had our problematic text been couched in some alphabetic language, and had we the key for it in our hands, it would be easy to translate the burden of the message, and in the very words intended by its author. Never before (and let this parenthesis be kindly pardoned), never before were we more deeply impressed with the inventive benevolence of fabulous old god Thot, than in connection with our present task. What power of ocular observation, we exclaim, what acute auricular perception, what faculty of practical transmission does not lie concealed in his so seemingly small gift of but seventeen phonetic letter-symbols! By means of them we are

enabled to think again the very thoughts conceived in the brain of the author, prearranged there, then anatomized into sounds, and finally deposited for visible perception on the little alphabetic key-board,—only one touch, one sight of them, and the whole mental music of the author would rush into the reader's brain and be repeated by his lips, to be imparted to thousands and thousands of readers.

No such advantages are proffered by the pictorial script and carving. If there is one, it is but this, that it addresses a wider circle of readers than does the alphabetic scheme. No particular knowledge of the language in which it is expressed would be required. A biped or a quadruped depicted will be recognized as such by all races and classes on the surface of the whole world. But what of the disadvantages. They are most numerous. Pictorial writing encompasses only representation of things visible and tangible. It addresses only the man seeing, not the man hearing, thinking and aspiring. For all the unlimited hues of the abstract, of the invisible, of the ideal, it has no picture. While alphabetic script is absolute and categoric, pictorial script is but relative and vaguely suggestive. In the former it is the author who carves the text. In the latter it is left to the beholder's best comprehension how to phrase it. Picture writing cannot be read—it can but be interpreted.

Correctness of identification always being presumed, the prospective success of the interpreter may be said to depend upon two main circumstances. The one of them comprises the internal, the other the external symptoms. By the former we understand the presence of a certain variety in objects, the place they occupy, their sequence and their division into groups. By the other, the character of local association with which the inscription is visibly connected. Hence, circumstantial evidence alone will be the key by which to solve the pictorial riddle, and it is only by the uncommon richness of suggestive symptoms

present in our epigraphic master work of art, that the student may feel encouraged to venture upon the task of impersonating the interpreter.

Let us enter directly upon this task, and begin with asking: What is the serial arrangement of all the objects in question? Must we begin "reading" the text from the right to the left, or inversely? Are the elements set together in rows or in columns? In answer to the first question, we must obviously decide,—from the left to the right. This is plainly suggested by the observation that the left upper corner of Tablet I. is occupied by the large brazier, covering the space of four squares,—evidently an initial to the text. Whether to proceed thence in the transversal or in the columnar direction, must be decided in favor of the latter, for the reason that the portraits—the most conspicuous feature of the tablet—stand arranged in this way. This is also the arrangement as stated by Landa (page 44).

Double columns?—Another question remains to be considered. Several scholars have advanced the opinion that the text must be read not by single, but by double columns, so that the columns 2, 4 and 6 should be complementary to 1, 3 and 5. This view is correct to a certain point; namely, so far as it pertains to the portrait column, as is clearly indicated by the artist himself. He designed each of the portraits to be qualified by the emblem carved on the face of its adjoining square to the right; and to make his purpose as conspicuous as possible he merged the two squares, leaving no space between them. This arrangement, however, terminates just at the point where the column of portraits stops; beyond this point the columns stand separately, and remain so throughout on this tablet, as well as on the other.

An understanding on this question being reached, we observe in casting a glance over both tablets that although resembling each other in size, in position and carving, they

are by no means alike,—they differ one from the other, essentially. Tablet II. offers to the eye the monotony of a symmetrically laid-out surface, whereas the other is teeming with variety and life. The eye is caught by the large impressive initial, by the compact double column of portraits, with its attractive succession of profile heads, which in the ensuing text is then followed by more portraits interspersed at irregular intervals. If the tablets differ so much in appearance, so may they also in purport, and the topics treated on Tablet I. presumably may turn out of somewhat different burden than those on Tablet II.

Considering their interesting variety, let Tablet I. first be taken up as subject of a closer inspection.

Portraits on Tablet I. Their identification.—When looking at its specific feature—that of the portraits—one circumstance connected with them must attract attention, which is their arrangement. One portion of them, as already noticed, stands grouped at the head of the tablet, and the others make their appearance as scattered and interwoven with the pictures of the text, all over the tablet. When we observe this fact, the question will arise in our mind: Why do not all these portraits stand in a columnar group? or, why were those scattered, not combined into a column of their own? or, why were not all of them represented on dispersed spaces? Surely some very grave reason must have directed the artist to arrange the portraits just as we see them represented.

In our attempt to find an answer, let us consider the columnar group of portraits, and try to ascertain what various and particular circumstances may be found associated with them. And first its location! That it was the group of portraits which was to stand at the head of the tablet, cannot have been decided upon without a certain important reason. We furthermore observe that the same group was crowned with the emblem of the large sacerdotal brazier Ben. A third curious circumstance is the fact that

each of the portraits is connected with a brazier of its own and that the surfaces of these braziers show different legends or carvings. These facts will teach us that we have to do with a group of men of highest character, and taking into account the great difference of their physiognomies, leave no doubt in our mind that the artist did not intend to express ideal or conventional features, but those of distinct individuals—of persons. We see faces, actual portraits. If we now narrow this portrait-problem by further asking with what official character these men had been invested, no doubt, in view of all the circumstances alleged, we must feel induced to take this column for a representation of a group of priests. But to remove all doubt as to this assumption, let us still make inspection of that peculiar little bulk that makes its appearance at the root of the nose of each portrait. What special shape the sculptor gave to this protuberance with the portraits standing in the group, cannot be more exactly distinguished. The delicate delineation is somewhat worn and obliterated on the sculpture. But when consulting, for instance, the profiles standing in C 10 and C 11, they reveal forms which lead us to infer the existence of some frontal ornament. But this also may be but a conjecture. Full evidence thereof is given by one on the copies made by Waldeck, from a life-size sculpture on the Palenque walls (see figure 1), in which we see a finely cut leaf-ornament gracing the foreheads of two persons. The jewel is fastened to the front of the head-dress and reaches so far down as to cover the space between the eyes. Impressed by the vision of this large model, we are now able to discern plainly in C 10 the ornament of a leaf, and in C 11 that of an embossed human face (see fig. 2 and 3). In Oriental archæology a jewel of this kind is found forming part of the royal and sacerdotal "toilette," and is known by the name of "*nesem*." Such is therefore the evidence that leads to the immediate conclusion that the portraits were intended to represent no

Fig. 1, Showing the Nesem.

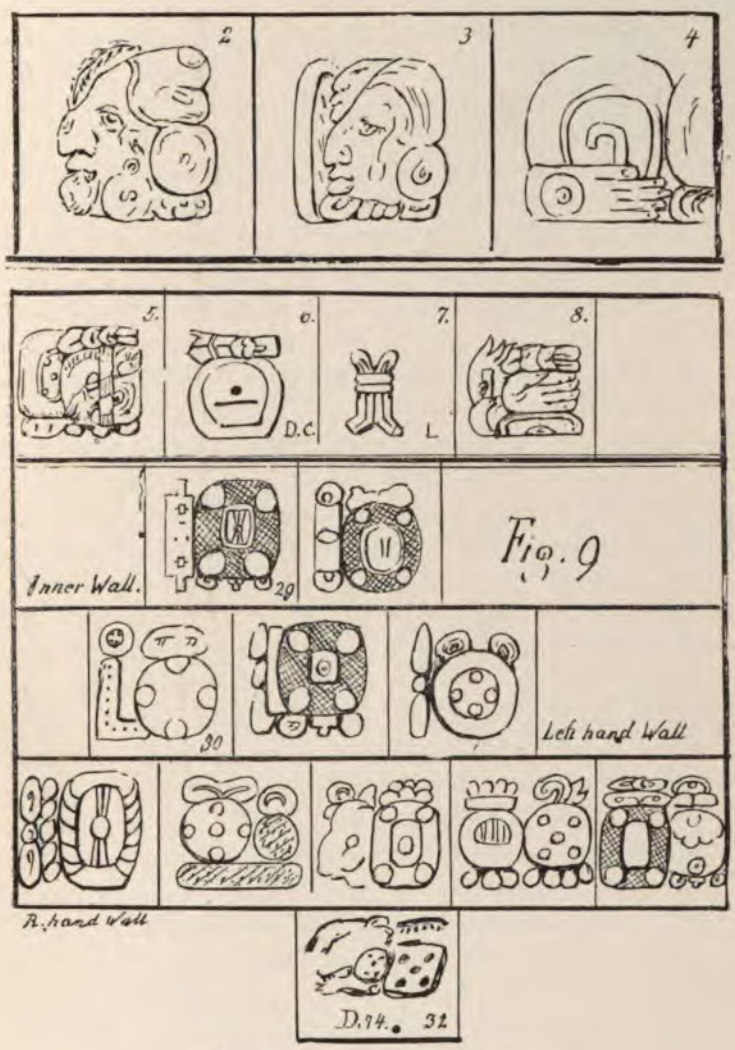
other men than such as were vested with the sacerdotal character.

One curious circumstance connected with the portrait column cannot have escaped the eyes of the beholder. No portrait appears on the face of square A 7. Instead of a profile, we see this square occupied by a hand that holds a crooked staff (see fig. 4.) This interruption in the series is perplexing. Not that it raises a doubt as to the intended continuance of the portrait-series—for such a continuance is plainly indicated (1) by the succession of two more portraits of priests, (2) by the close connection of the shield with the emblematic brazier, and (3) because the hand that holds the staff shows the conventional mark of circles standing for the priest's cuffs; but because we are not able to understand the reason why the artist felt prevented from giving us the portrait of the priest himself and sought to symbolize him simply by a staff of crooked shape. Nowhere, at least in Maya imagery, do crooked staffs make an appearance, except in this place on our tablet. Landa, indeed, informs us that as a token of their high dignity the Maya priests carried staffs in their hands, but he does not say that the staffs were crooked. Such a striking resemblance to the insignia of a Catholic bishop would have moved him to make some remark to the point. Once only, but this in a Mexican codex (Cod. Vatic. pl. 11 and 13), Chipe Totec, the famous *adjunctus a latere* of Quetzalcohuatl is represented holding a crooked staff in his hand. Excluding this curious square, the number of the column-portraits would be but six, and six and not more of them will be found heading the double columns of Tablet I., as seen in the two other fanes in Palenque of a like plan and construction. What peculiar reasons prevailed for increasing that number of six portraits to seven in our fane, why to insert it between the 4th and 5th and just in a mere emblematic form, I have no acceptable conjecture to offer.

Let us here stir up the scanty ashes of tradition and spy for any glowing ember from which to catch some light to illumine the darkness hovering over prehistoric Palenque.

The seven Tzequiles. No province of Spanish conquest has furnished fewer documents for the study of its ancient condition than that of Chiapas, of which province Palenque seems in older times to have been the theocratic centre. One would think that the Fray de las Casas, who became bishop of Chiapas at about the same time that his colleague Diego de Landa was busy in collecting data for his "Relaciones," would have felt incited by similar ardor. But we know that his zealous mind sought employment in other channels of research. Nor have Remesal and de la Vega left any noteworthy historic suggestions. It was only in the last century that Don Ramon de Ordoñez y Aguiar, a Spanish alcalde, felt such interest in certain traditions still alive among the Tzendal Indians (Palenque), among whom he lived, as to pen down these traditions with Spanish letters in the native language. This manuscript was never printed, but was consulted by Dr. Felix de Cabrera, commissioned by the Viceroy of Mexico to write a learned introduction to Del Rio's official report on the first and memorable expedition to the ruins of Palenque. As it appears from Cabrera's abstract, the gist of the notes taken by Ordoñez is this: that a family of seven pious brothers, coming from Mexico, had once entered the territory of Chiapas and were the builders of those stately palaces and temples which are now deserted and in ruins. The immigrants, it is said, were called *tzequiles*, on account of the long robes they wore, and tzequiles, indeed, is still to-day the name for Mexicans among the natives of Chiapas, as *Yaqui* is for them among the natives of Guatemala.

There is a ring of historic truth in this tale. For the same tale is also told by Landa, with respect to the Maya tribe of Yucatan, of which we previously learnt that they had derived from Chiapas the tapir-cult, only that Landa,



CHRONOLOGICAL SYMBOLS.

instead of employing the word "tzequiles" speaks of "brothers," adding thereto that in the course of time discord broke out between them, causing finally the death and ruin of all of them. Stripped of the mystery with which both the natives and the early commentators indulged to color traditional events, the tale as given by Ordoñez will gain still more credibility when we consider it in connection with the pictorial inscription of our tablet. Should other circumstances not come to contradict, we indeed may feel entitled to the assumption that the memory of those "brother Tzequiles" has been perpetuated here on stone and that the portraits carved in the double column may be looked upon as being those of the founders of the Palenque theocracy.

As far as induction in our present case allows, a circumstance corroborative of the aforesaid assumption may come to light when we now proceed in our inspection of the tablet to take into account the other portraits which are scattered over its surface. We find five of them, in squares B 17, C 10, D 8, D 16 and F 4. There may be still three more, those in C 11, E 14 and F 8, but I shrink from accepting them as such, on account of their being encumbered with accessories which the others do not exhibit and because I do not see the reason why the artist should thus have ventured to veil their identification. As regards these scattered portraits, they must be considered also to be priests on account of the *nesem* decorating their foreheads. This much, for the present, on the character of the portraits themselves.

Space-wise record of the portraited priests. But when now bent upon our task of looking for more informative suggestion, we shall find it near at hand. We need only inspect the series of objects carved on the squares and spaces intervening between one portrait and the next that follows, to meet with a welcome surprise. We see that in all these spaces the objects represented repeat themselves.

They are all of the same ritual class and known to us from their identification in Part I. The object is always a date, a vessel, an idol and a sacrificial gift. In spaces of longer dimension we find more of the same class. They also change somewhat in size, in form, or in minor details, but the motive of the object itself remains unchanged. To illustrate the repeated exhibition of the same object within the successive space, take, for example, the portrait standing in C 10. The space as far as the next portrait in D 8 is filled out with fourteen squares. We analyze the pictures of these, one after the other. In C 11 stands a human face, but not in the sense of a human portrait. The base on which the head rests suggests it to represent what the missionaries called an idol—in reality the head of a defunct lord or priest baked of earth or carved of cedar wood (see Landa, pp. 158 and 198). The annex is the cacao-pod. In C 12, a chest of wood or skin (petaquilla, L., p. 240, 278), on top spread out the contents—a sacerdotal mantle, embroidered with crosses with a fringed hem. Left side, a cacao-pod. In C 13, a chest resting on a chalchihuitl, contents left side? beans? In C 14, the date 3 Ben. In C 15, the two fruit vessels Chicchan; l. s. ? In C 16, the date 1 Cavac. C 17, idol head? resting on chalchihuitl. L. h. a shield with emblem of Ben. In D 1, the thorn-vessel Chuen, l. s. a chalchihuitl and a cacao-pod. In D 2, the tapir idol. In D 3, the date 4 Ahau. In D 4, a hand holding a drooping flower?, and resting on a chalchihuitl. In D 5, the date 2 Chuen, on top the tablilla with 4 copal balls. In D 6, a sacrificial vessel (Ben?) resting on chalchihuitl, l. s. the fruit vessel Chicchan, on top body of bee? In D 7, sacrificial vessel resting on chalchihuitl, on top a tied bundle, l. s. the mask of god Chac. We shall now see that the seven squares which follow the portrait in D 8 are inscribed with quite similar ritual objects as the foregoing, as well as all the other portrait-spaces. In D 9, a small

Ben vessel and a larger one. In D 10, the date 8 Ben, base—a chalchihuitl, on top two maize-cakes. In D 11, the date 8 Cib, on top a cacao-pod. In D 12, a bag with beans? on top a heap of ground maize (la masa de mais), l. s. leaf of maize. In D 13, the vessel Chuen, on top the copal-tablillas, l. s. a chalchihuitl and a cacao-pod. In D 14, the date 18 Ben, on top the miniature of initial. In D 15, vessel Ben resting on a bale tied, on top and l. s.?—The smaller objects, of which there appear a great number on both tablets, are of very difficult definition. They undoubtedly represent eatables, as fruit and maize-cake of different ingredients and traditional form. (See Landa, pages 118, 212 and 216).

From the analysis just made and under the circumstances as given, what else are we entitled to infer but that in each of the spaces and squares intervening between two portraits, a record is contained of the priest that heads the space, this record consisting in the registration of the days on which he officiated at a certain sacrificial vessel to a certain idol, and offering certain ritual gifts, or others brought along for the occasion. As to the priests at the head of the tablet, we cannot help considering them to stand for contemporary founders. This was also a reason to represent them closely grouped together. Consequently, the portraits that follow, and are singly scattered and distributed among the squares of the other columns, cannot help being taken for those of the priests who were the gradual successors of the former, both in time and office.

We have still to inspect the other tablet.

Tablet II.

Its characteristics.—This tablet will be found lacking in conspicuous features. We do not see it headed by a broad, emblematic Initial, nor does it exhibit any double columns of portraits, nor in fact any portrait at all. Their absence

reminds us of the necessity now to look out for such prominent and characteristic features as will be able to lead us on the track of the particular theme contained in the new text.

After having for this purpose made a survey over the whole tablet, we return from our inspection with the result that we are acquainted with nearly all the pictures found on the other tablet. Only a few new features present themselves. Thus, for example, we become aware of a few new day-symbols, those of *Eb*, *Caban*, *Imix*, *Lamat* and *Kan*, which were not registered on Tablet I., while on the other hand we will miss those of *Manik*, of *Cib* and *Igk*. Passing from this research among the day dates to that of ritual objects, we may be struck with the very frequent representation of *Birds*, among which a parrot with outstretched tongue plays a principal part. See f. e. squares S 8, S 17, T 1, U 12, V 6, V 16, W 4, X 3, X 9 and X 17, ten times, at least as far as recognition goes. Other varieties of birds may be seen in S 12, W 10 and X 8.

A quite new feature is also that of the Sorcerer's Mask. But all these small discrepancies will not engage our attention so much as would the disproportionate amount of Calendar dates which are registered on this tablet. When counted, we find their number to be *forty-seven*. They, therefore, occupy nearly one-half of all the squares into which the tablet is divided. In this connection we remember that we found only thirty-two dates on the portrait-tablet, and moreover, that these thirty-two dates were divided among twelve portraits. In want of any other striking characteristics, we seize upon this fact. We argue upon it, and the following conclusions may be judged to be acceptable. We say: If the columns on Tablet I. are found subdivided by spaces showing the records of several persons, and if, on the other hand, the columns of Tablet II. are not interrupted by any portrait, the long and uninterrupted record of Tablet II. must necessarily be assigned to but one person.

The record of the entombed priest. That this person must also be a priest will find no serious contradiction. For it will be borne in mind that the little fane which harbors our sculpture is built on the top of a tumulus. Two more tumuli, crowned with similar fanes of similar height, and adorned with similar sculptures, stand at no great distance from this; and fourteen others, as heaps of crumbled ruins, have been counted, scattered on the Palenque grounds. The whole condition of the plain and its surroundings excludes the idea that these tumuli are natural hills; they were thrown up by the hands of men. When the floor of one of these fanes was broken up by Del Rio, in 1787, he found stairs leading to subterranean chambers, profusely decorated, and in which was deposited an urn. Considering the neighborhood of the large monasterial palace, this seat of a once powerful and highly cultured theocracy, it needs not further proof that these tumuli and fanes were erected for receiving the earthly remains of the priests when deceased. (See also Landa, page 198.) Now, since we find the other two fanes above mentioned, each adorned with a sacrificial tableau and each flanked by tablets of the same arrangement as ours, it seems the custom has prevailed, at the interment of a priest, to inscribe the left hand tablet with an epitomized record of the founders and their successors, and to devote an additional tablet to the one priest whose ashes were entombed beneath the floor of that fane which was erected to his special memory. Certainly, an imbedding of the portrait of the deceased into the initial square of his tablet would have more emphatically sanctioned our assumption. But it seems as though the artist, or the council that decreed the construction of this mortuary hall, deemed, for reasons perhaps still to be discovered, such a token of personal commemoration to be superfluous. It may be that the portrait in the single column, stretching along the back of the officiating Chac-priest,—a column whose location is still somewhat

enigmatic,—was his, and that the Chac-priest himself was intended to represent his person in full.

If, then, the record must be referred to the priest entombed in the tumulus, judging from the large amount of dates recorded on his epitaph his sacerdotal life must have embraced a pretty long period of time. It cannot fairly be assumed that each of the minor festivals of the year should have been registered on this pictorial necrologue. But we may presume that he had been officiating at least at one or two of the annual festivals celebrated in honor of god Chac, and have conducted these ceremonial acts in person. Should this hypothesis be found acceptable, when taking the forty-seven dates as basis for computation, we should have a functional record before us that extends over more than twenty years, always supposing that the years he passed in his minor grades were not registered.

The chronologic symbol for the Lustrum.—There is one symbol standing in square V 15 that appears only once on the tablet, and which engages interest. This square shows the well known image of god Chac, characterized by the long nosed profile. (See fig. 5.) We see his head and jaw tightened by a nicely woven ribbon, and on top an object lying that frequently is met with on the garland shields of the Dresden Codex. (Plates 24, 58, 62, 63, 70 and 72.) (See fig. 6.) This object, no doubt, represents a rope doubled and tied in a knot, as we may find it also in the Mexican Codices, where it represents the symbol for tying the years (ligatura de los años). The same knotted rope also appears in Landa's alphabetic scheme, where it stands for the sound *ha*, with the phonetic allusion to *haab*, the Maya word for *year*. (See fig. 7.) Figure 8 is taken from the column along the sacrificer's back, square 13th. In our square V 15 the rope-symbol seems to call attention to the fact that a chronologic symbol is in sight. This symbol we see placed at the left hand of god Chac's, and

merging into it. It is engraved with five little rounds, and I think I am not mistaken in interpreting this sign to be the symbol for the twenty years' period or Katun. I invite the student interested in this specialty to compare it with some other five-dotted symbols, ten in number, which I have gathered from the walls of a certain Palenque building called "el templo de la Escuela" (school-temple), (see John L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel, vol. 2, page 344), represented in fig. 9. The imagination of the sculptor seems to have revelled in representing this rare and important symbol in the most artistic way. The specimens are beautifully elaborated, varying in the motives of the rounds as well as in that of the frame. Our reason for assigning this symbol the value of the twenty years' Katun may be read in Cogolludo's Historia de Yucatan, Lib. IV., cap. 5, from which the following passage is the translated abstract: "They (the Maya) counted by *lustros*, from four to four years. When they had counted five lustros they called these five lustros a Katun." Apply this statement to what is shown in figure 9. Those two shields, with only four rounds, would then represent the *lustra of four years*, and those with five rounds account for the Katun-period of twenty years. The former being of lesser years show no elaborate frame, while the others of higher figure and of five rounds were deemed worthy of being represented like a jewel on a precious finger-ring. The same motive frequently recurs engraved on the face of the ear-pendants of idols as well as of priests. It is to be regretted that the large tablets of the Escuela building are partly incrusted by filtration, and that as far as I know no photograph has ever been taken from it. In view of what is left, the tablets mentioned offer material for the study of the Palenque question as rich, and possibly still more interesting, than our Temple of the Sacred Tree.

This much is what I have been able to glean from the tablets as to the information their texts contain.

Final remarks.—Only a few remarks to conclude the subject. The art of picture-writing, doubtless, was only confined to the few, these few belonging to the *gremium* of the Priesthood. The common people seem to have been wisely kept in continuous awe before the sorcery of so much art. To quote one single example for illustration. We read in the Historie of Fernando Colon (Cap. XCI.) that at the landing of his father at Cariai (Nicaragua) he was most amicably met by the natives assembled on the shore. Yet, as soon as they noticed that some clerks, commissioned to take notes, produced paper, inkstand and pen, the people fled frightened in wild consternation, but only to return and blow clouds of incense (in Tzendal= fiecontli, see Dupaix, Exped. III., pollen, hoddentin?) to ward off the writing sorcerers, or *calachuni* (halach= holy, and uinac=men), as later on Hernan Cortes's priests and the Spanish missionaries were called by the Maya speaking tribes. Cogolludo, in Lib. IV. 3, expressly states that the people never used to draw up a document about any civil and social act, as f. e. marriage, sale or loan. All this was done orally before witnesses.

When considering the special occasions on which picture-writing was resorted to, the limits of its employment can be still more closely narrowed. As much as can be culled, for the present, from the inscriptions left, not only from those of Palenque but also from the steles in Quirigua and Copan, shows that the texts bear all the symptoms either of a mortuary epitaph, or those of a shorter inscription graven on some sacred and memorial object. Nothing inconsistent will be found in the solemn attention paid to the memory of the departed. Nor will the appearance of a pure unadulterated picture-writing be found inconsistent with the occasion, when we see it employed on the maguey or parchment pages of the calendars. In the eyes of the people these books were as holy as were to the Hebrews the Sinaitic tablets and the chapters of Leviticus, and this was

also the reason that like the idols the calendars had one day in the year appointed on which they underwent a solemn lustration. (See Landa, page 286.)

When summing up the subject-matter of Part II., it will appear that the fane had been erected in memory of a defunct priest. Traditional usage seems to have made it incumbent on the sacerdotal phratria residing in the monastery of Palenque, to have a large sculptured tableau embedded in the rear wall of the mortuary fanes, and emblazoned with the representation of a sacrifice offered to that god at whose brazier the defunct had been officiating. Of the two tablets flanking this tableau, that on the left hand—as we infer from a like disposition in the other two mortuary fanes—was inscribed with an epitomized record, to state how many priests had deceased since the foundation of the brotherhood. Space did not allow the record of each of the deceased to extend to more than a few squares. Each of these squares, as a rule, had to show: (1) the image of the priest; (2) those sacrificial vessels that he had been appointed to attend to; (3) the images of the respective idols; (4) the gifts offered; and (5) the dates on which the sacrifices were performed. The other tablet, however, was that of the *occasion*. It was devoted exclusively to a full record of the sacerdotal life of the one to whose glorification the mortuary fane had been constructed on the top of the tumulus, and a record as full as the tablet's space and the partition, parallel to its counterpart, allowed. No individual name of any of the persons commemorated in the portraits appears to have been pictorially appended. To infer from certain particularities, the tablets were worked by different hands. On the conception of the sculpture as a whole, on the artistic finish of both the symbolic and the realistic detail, it is not here the place to expatiate. Aside from a certain mannerism, the execution is simply perfect. The chisel did its best work in the column along the back of the Sacrificer. To fix the exact

time of the construction of the fane escapes chronologic determination. Only this may be said, that to judge from some annalistic material extant, the Palenque theocracy may have ruled during an epoch of about 400 years, between 900 and 1300 of our era.

The soil of Palestine, of Assyria, of Babylonia, Egypt, and India, has been upturned, and monumental inscriptions have been gathered by the thousands. None of them shows on its face the chaste and genuine standard of picture-writing. Nevertheless, it has been proved over and over again that the original forms of all kinds of alphabetic letters were derived from pictures taken therefrom.

A curious fact this,—and one which opens a wide field for historic speculation and research,—that one portion of our American continent should have become the custodian of the lost primordial manner of recording.

NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

It seems due to Dr. Valentini, as an earnest worker in archæological research in America, to show the variety and character of his labors in a field where, as may be learned from a short biographical sketch in our Proceedings of April, 1878, page 108, his long residence in several of the States of Central America gave him a near acquaintance with the subjects of which he treats. For that reason we append a list of some of his essays and the dates of their publication.

1. The Mexican Calendar Stone (with plate of Calendar Stone). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1878.) pp. 91–110. The same. Reprint. pp. 29. Worcester, 1879.
2. Mexican Copper Tools (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1879.) pp. 81–112. The same. Reprint. pp. 41. Worcester, 1879.
3. The Katunes of Maya History (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, October, 1879.) pp. 71–117. The same. Reprint. pp. 60. Worcester, 1880.
4. The Landa Alphabet (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1880.) pp. 59–91. The same. Reprint. pp. 35. Worcester, 1880.
5. Mexican Paper (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. I. New series.) pp. 58–81. The same. Reprint. pp. 26. Worcester, 1881.

6. Two Mexican Chalchihuites, the Humboldt Celt and the Leyden Plate (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. I. New series.) pp. 283–302. The same. Reprint. pp. 24. Worcester, 1881.

7. The Olmecas and the Tultecas (with plates and map). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. II. New series.) pp. 193–230. The same. Reprint. pp. 42. Worcester, 1883.

8. Semi-lunar and Crescent-shaped Tools, with special reference to those of Mexico (with illustrations). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. III. New series.) pp. 449–474. The same. Reprint. pp. 28. Worcester, 1885.

9. The Landfall of Columbus at San Salvador (with map). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. VIII. New series.) pp. 152–168. The same. Reprint. pp. 19. Worcester, 1892.

10. The Portuguese in the Track of Columbus (with maps.) (In Journal American Geographical Society. Vol. XX.) pp. 432–444. (The same. Vol. XXI.) pp. 35–56; 167–196; 359–379.

11. Analysis of the Pictorial Text Inscribed on Two Palenque Tablets. Pt. I. (with plates). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. IX. New series.) pp. 429–450. The same. Reprint. pp. 24. Worcester, 1895.

12. Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on Two Palenque Tablets. Pt. II. (with plates). (In Proceedings American Antiquarian Society. Vol. X. New Series.) pp. 399–417. The same. Reprint. pp. 21. Worcester, 1896.

ANCIENT TOMBS OF PALENQUE.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

SOUTH, sixty degrees west, of the so-called Temple of the Cross No. 1, and about two-thirds down the western slope of the pyramid, I discovered a series of sealed tombs. These were, for the most part, so destroyed by the roots of large trees and by the breaking away of the face of the pyramid, that their original outline could only be conjectured. But I had the good fortune to encounter one practically intact, and from this I gleaned the following facts :—

The tomb itself was built into the side of the pyramid and formed a small rectangular room six feet eight inches long, by six feet wide, and seven feet high. It was well built of lime material and stones, and had the appearance of having been once smooth-finished with white stucco. Of this stucco hardly a vestige now remains in place, but the floor of the tomb was covered with its finely disintegrated fragments. The roof was vaulted after that form of the corbel vault known as the Maya arch. In the centre of this tomb was a rectangular stone burial-case, five feet long, two feet wide, and one and one-half feet high, each side of which was formed of two smooth-finished stone slabs, each two inches thick. The inner slabs were sunken below the edges of the outer, sufficiently to allow the slab that served as a cover to be let down flush with the edges, thus forming a well-finished, decent and simple deposit for the dead. The top of the burial-case was covered with *débris* that time and dampness had hardened into a cemented mass. Carefully clearing off this adherent material, I found upon the exposed surface the votive offerings of the ancient

mourners, consisting of a small, broken, terra-cotta effigy of a warrior, with flowing plumes and other warrior vestments, lance heads, jade beads, and terracotta pendants, all broken purposely before being placed within the tomb, as the position of the fragments indicated. This ancient custom of breaking the burial offerings prevailed to some extent in Yucatan, as my excavations have shown. Lifting the heavy top, I found the remains of two skeletons, but so utterly decomposed that a touch destroyed them. One was lying upon its side with its arms and knees drawn up toward the chin. The other was so nearly obliterated by the many streams of water that had entered through the joints of the case, opened by some disturbance of the pyramid base, that its exact position could not be ascertained. A small earthen jar, a bowl-shaped vessel, some jade beads and a beautifully engraved spinning-whorl of jade were found in the grave, which was carefully recovered and left to undisturbed quiet for perhaps another lapse of centuries.

About twenty-five yards to the north of this sepulchre lies the now shapeless mound that holds a veritable Chamber of the Dead. A narrow opening in the top of the mound, two feet, five inches wide by six feet long, once securely sealed by heavy slabs of worked stone cemented into place, leads down a stairway of six steps, ending in a platform three feet by four and one-half feet; two more steps at right angles to the others give one the entrance to a narrow chamber fourteen feet, three inches long, six feet, seven inches wide, and eight feet, four inches high. The left-hand wall of this chamber has no opening. The cement has mostly dropped off and its place is supplied by countless brilliant points of lime incrustations, and from the vaulted roof depend innumerable stalactites. The right-hand wall of the chamber has three small openings, each five feet, four inches long by two feet, six inches wide, solidly sealed with cement and stone, but now opened by

the finder, Mr. German Kohler, a resident of Palenque. Through the first opening I crawled, and descending one step, found myself in a well-planned burial chamber of the same general shape as the one discovered by me, but larger, being seven feet long by six feet wide, and ten feet, ten inches high. This chamber held no burial-case, the skeleton lying directly upon the cement floor of the chamber, and so far as I could ascertain the body was placed with the head toward the north, and the votive offering, a simple shallow vase, on a line with the right shoulder.

The second chamber, of the same general size and appearance as the first, held near its centre a large, well-made case, five feet long by two feet wide, and two feet high, of smooth, handsome slabs of stone, in general appearance resembling the burial-case in the grave which I discovered. This case held, beside the skeleton, two vessels, one bowl-shaped and the other like a huge ladle, both of hard-burned clay, two obsidian blades eight inches long, and one spindle-whorl of terra-cotta.

The third chamber, similar in size and shape to the preceding, held one body placed directly upon the cement floor of the tomb, but covered by two large stone slabs placed tent-wise, one resting against the other, with the open ends covered by smaller slabs, all securely cemented into place. Underneath this curious, yet effective burial-case, was resting a single skeleton and one ordinary shallow vessel.

At the southwest corner of the great chamber was found a skeleton placed with head toward the west, with an ornamental clay vessel close by the left shoulder. This principal chamber opens on the west into a smaller one, in reality a continuation, but separated by a half-wall. This smaller room also held a skeleton without burial case of any description. In the wall appears an opening leading to a tomb, probably similar to those already described, but the top and sides of this portion of the structure have caved

in, and much excavation would be necessary before investigations could be made.

The visit to Palenque having been made simply for comparative study, it was, of course, impossible to undertake work requiring any great excavation.

As I have before stated, the walls and ceilings of tombs and chambers were covered with stalactites and lime coating. The floors were of hard stucco, colored an ochreous yellow by time and use. The deposit of lime and yellow dirt, *etc.*, had covered the floor to a depth of nine inches with a hard cement, adhering to the floor as if both were but one coherent mass. Perpetual humidity prevailed in this structure, which is subterraneous now, whatever it may have been originally.

What was the original shape of the mound I cannot say. One who has not visited the forests of Palenque cannot imagine the inextricable confusion of great roots, overturned tree-trunks, climbing vines, and decaying vegetation, that buries everything under a seething, gloomy, deceptive covering. One step forward may land one on a fallen column, and the next bury one waist-deep in the rotten trunk of a fallen forest giant among scorpions and biting ants. To clear off the covering of vegetation and vegetable mould would have been a serious task, that I could not undertake.

I think that on the summit of the mound covering the Chamber of the Dead was once a structure, but to ascertain what it was and make a perfected plan of the whole, will have to be a work of the future.

Never was time laid out to better advantage than was ours at Palenque. The indefatigable Prof. W. H. Holmes did the work of three men in his chosen line. We worked measuring, studying and noting by day, plotting, revising notes and comparing by night, resting just enough to keep us alive, relying on the future sea-trip to give us rest and restore us to good condition.

INDEX.

A.

Acheson, Stuart, 43, 46 *n.*, 63 *n.* Remarks on his "The Scotch-Irish in Canada," 44 *n.*, 45 *n.*

Adair, James, 162 *n.*, 163 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 170 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 177, 178 *n.*, 182 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 187 *n.* His "History of the American Indians," 156 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 177 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 190, *ib.*, cited, 188 *n.*

Adams, Chas. Francis, 199. Elected Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, 197. Communicates a paper on "The Battle of Bunker Hill from a Strategic Point of View," 387-398.

Adams, J. Howe, 63 *n.*

Adams, William, his "Necessity of the pouring out of the Spirit," and "God's Eye on the Contrite," 348.

Adams, William H. D., his "Historical sketches of magic and witchcraft," 351.

Adams family, record of, 82.

Addington, Isaac, 345.

Agnew, D. Hayes, 63, *ib. n.*

Aiken, *Capt.* James, 51.

Albro family, record of, 82.

Alden Fund, 249, 251.

Aldrich, P. Emory, 13, 14, 72. Obituary of, by Frank P. Goulding, 22-24.

Alexander, *Miss* Sarah W., 59.

Alexander, *Sir* William, 42.

Algonkin Indians, 132.

Allen, James, his "New England's Choicest Blessing," and "Serious Advice to delivered ones from Sickness," 348. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336.

Allen, Joel A., his "American Bisons Living and Extinct," 157 *n.*

Allen, John, *printer*, 322, 326, 327, 337-341, 343, 345, 346.

Allen, William, his "American Biographical Dictionary," 258.

Allin, John, his "The Lord Jesus, his Legacie of Peace," and "The Spouse of Christ," 299.

Allouez, Claude, 134 *n.*, 147, 151-153, 159 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 185 *n.* Establishes a Mission at Chequamegon Bay, 134, 135. Establishes a second Mission at Green Bay, 136. His "Narrative" cited, 169 *n.*

Almanac. By T. S., 283, 284. By Samuel Brakenbury, 284, 293. By Israel Chauncy, 288, 290. By Alexander Nowell, 291. By Josiah Flint, 292, 293. By Joseph Dudley, 293, 294. By J. B., 295. By J. R., 297. By N. H., 299. By John Foster, 301, 304. By John Sherman, 303. By Samuel Danforth, 312, 313. By John Tulley, 321, 323. By C. Lodowick, 335, 336.

American Antiquarian Society, Amendment of By-Laws, Article IV., 2. Addition of an iron stack to the lower hall of, 12. Bibles in possession of, containing family records, 82, 83. Colonial Furniture belonging to, 255. Portraits belonging to, 257, 258. List of Givers and Gifts to, 84-96, 266-280. "A List of Early American Imprints in the Library of," paper by Nathaniel Paine, 281-350.

American Fur Company, 147, 148, 151 *n.*, 153.

"American Whig Review," cited, 80, *et seq.*

"Andover Review," 216 *n.*, 221.

Andrews, William, 118 *n.*

Andros, *Sir* Edmund, 285, 323.

Anger, Alfred C., 31.

Anne, *Queen of England*, 35, 118 *n.*, 119, 125.

Annual Meeting of the Society, Oct. 23, 1895, 195.

Archimedes, 19.

Armstrong, John, 44 *n.*

Arnold, Benedict, 45.

Arny, Harry V., presents manuscript notes of Benjamin Franklin's visit to Göttingen, 77.
Arthur, *Pres.* Chester A., 61.
"Articles agreed upon . . . in the Convocation at London, 1652," 317.
Ashurst, *Sir* William, 339.
Astor's American Fur Company, 145.
"Athenian Mercury," 360.
Austin, John O., his "Ancestry of thirty-three Rhode Islanders," 59.
Ayer, Frederick, *missionary*, 147, 149, *ib. n.*, 150.
Ayers, Joseph, 314.

B.

B., J., his "Almanack," 295.
Bacon, *Sir* Francis, 381. Cited, 375, *et seq.*
Bacon, Peter C., 22.
Bailey, John, his "Man's Chief End to Glorifie God," 349.
Bailey, Sarah L., her "Andover," 354.
Baily, John, 340.
Baird, *Rev.* Robert, his "Religion in the United States of America," 46 *n.*
Baldwin, Christopher C., 257. His "Diary" cited, 78, 79. His letter rel. to the Pynchon chair, 255, 256. Tribute to, 264. His letters cited, 265, 266. Portrait of, 266. MS. note by, 345.
Baldwin, Robert, 63, *ib. n.*
Baldwin, William W., 63 *n.*
Bancroft, *Hon.* George, 13, 29. His letter cited, 259.
Baraga, Frederic, *Bp.*, establishes a mission at La Porte, 151, *et seq.*
Barclay, *Capt.* Robert H., 59.
Barry, John S., his "History of Massachusetts," 361, 373.
Bartlett, Ichabod, 6.
Bartlett, J. Russell, cited, 296.
Barton, *Miss* Clara, 263.
Barton, Edmund M., 2, 196, Presents his reports as Librarian, 71–83, 254-267.
Bartram, John, his "Observations," 170 *n.*, 188 *n.* Cited, 171 *n.*
Bartram, William, his "Travels through Florida," 156 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 163 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 168 *n.*, 171 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 180 *n.*, 181 *n.*, 185 *n.* Cited, 166 *n.*
Baxter, Richard, 355. Cited, 356, *et seq.*
Bay Psalm Book, title page of, 281. Annotation by I. Thomas, *ib.* Bibliography of, 282.
Bayfield, Henry W., 147 *n.*
Bayly, Lewis, his "Practice of Piety" translated into the Indian language by John Eliot, 292.
Beard, George M., 362.
Beardsley, E. Edwards, 235. His "Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson," 234 *n.* Cited, 234.
Belcher, *Gov.* Jonathan, secretary belonging to, 255.
Belknap, Jeremy, 40.
Bell, Alexander G., 63.
Bell, Charles H., 41, 61. His address at the 150th Anniversary of settlement of Nutfield, cited, 42.
Bell, John, 61.
Bell, John J., 61.
Bell, Luther V., 61.
Bell, Samuel, 61.
Bell, *Judge* Samuel D., 61.
Bellin, N., his map, 140 *n.*, 142.
Bentley, *Rev* William, 285, 366.
Berault, Peter, his "The Church of Rome Evidently Proved Heretick," 313.
Berkeley, George, *Bp.*, 232, 233, 235. Cited, 234.
Beverley, Robert, his "History of Virginie," 156 *n.*, 159 *n.*–161 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 170 *n.*–172 *n.*, 179 *n.*–182 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 185 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 188 *n.*
Bibles, registry of births, marriages and deaths in, 82.
Biddle, Charles, 9.
Biedma, Louis H., 172 *n.*
Bigelow, George F., 208.
Bigelow, George T., 39.
Bigelow, Timothy, 39.
Billings, John S., his "Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office," 263.
Bird, Benjamin, his "The Jacobites Catechism," 327.
Blackstone, *Sir* William, 351. His "Commentaries on the Laws of England," 101 *n.*, 102 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 101, *et seq.*
Blaine, James G., 263.

Blair, Abraham, his "exempt farm," 40.
Blair, John, 58.
Blair, Robert, cited, 125 *n.*, *et seq.*
Blair, *Col.* Robert, 40, 43.
Blair, *Col.* Robert, *sen.*, 43.
Blair, *Capt.* William, 43.
Bliss, W. R., his "Old Colony Town," 354.
Bohn, Henry G., 120 *n.*-122 *n.*
Bond, Samson, his "Publick Tryal of the Quakers," 349.
Bookbinding Fund, 249, 250.
Boone, Daniel, 57 *n.*
Boone, Nicholas, 346.
Boosketan, *Indian festival*, 178.
Bors, Peter, 330.
Boscawen, Hugh, 337.
Boston, *Mass.*, first issues of the press in, 302.
"Boston Ephemeris," 349.
"Boston Weekly News-Letter," Feb. 10, 1743, cited, 108.
Boult, Anne, 63 *n.*
Boutell, Lewis H., elected a member, 9.
Boutwell, George S., 17.
Bowditch, *Dr.* Nathaniel, 368.
Bowditch, Nathaniel I., 368.
Bowdoin, James, 15, 19. Letter to, cited, 264, *et seq.*
Bowen, Abel, 79.
Bowen, Francis, his "Life of Sir W. Phips," 358.
Boyle, Robert, 234, 235 *n.*
Brackenridge, Henry M., his "Views of Louisiana," 163 *n.*
Bradbury, John, his "Travels in America," 170 *n.*, 171 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 182 *n.*
Braddock, Edward, 47.
Bradford, Andrew, *printer*, 283.
Bradford, *Gov.* William, his "History of Plymouth Plantation," cited, 161 *n.*
Bradford, William, *printer*, 283, 321, 328-330, 335, 345.
Bradstreet, *Mrs.* Anne, her "Several Poems," 305, 306, 348.
Bradstreet, *Gov.* Simon, 285, 341.
Brand, John, his "Observations on Popular Antiquities," 118.
Brattle, Thomas, 345. His "Letter giving a full and candid account of the delusion called witchcraft," 363, 364.
Brattle, William, his "Ephemeris of Cœlestial Motions," 349.
Breed's Hill, *Battle of.* *See* Bunker Hill.
Brereton, *Sir* William, 176 *n.*
Brez, Guy de, his "The Rise, Spring and Foundation of the Anabaptists," 348.
Bridgeman, William, 338, 342.
Bridgewater, T., 342.
Brinton, Daniel G., his "Myths of the New World" cited, 156 *n.*
Brome, Charles, 318.
Brooks, Henry M., 118 *n.*
Brougham, Henry, *Baron* Brougham and Vaux, 51 *n.*
Brown, John Carter, 282.
Brown, Nicholas, 337.
Brown University, endowment of, 7.
Browne, *Sir* Thomas, 375.
Browning, Joseph, 319.
Bruce, Edward, 6.
Brunning, Joseph, 315-316, 318, 322.
Brunson, Alfred, his "Western Pioneer," cited, 146 *n.*
Bry, Theodore de, 173 *n.*
Bryce, *Rev.* James, 63 *n.*
Bryce, James, *sen.*, notice of, 63 *n.*, *et seq.*
Bryce, James, 63, 64 *n.*, 199. His "The American Commonwealth," 199 *n.*
Bryson, J. H., 62 *n.*, 63 *n.*
Buchanan, *Pres.* James, 61.
Buckingham, Joseph T., 78.
Buckley, Gersham, 335.
Budd, Thomas, 329, 330.
Buffum family, record of, 82.
Bullock, A. George, elected an Auditor, 197.
Bunker Hill, *Battle of*, 54, 55. "Battle of Bunker Hill from a Strategic Point of View," paper by Charles Francis Adams, 387-398.
Bunyan, John, his "Pilgrim's Progress, 378.
Burgoyne, *Gen.* John, 56. Surrender of, 55.
Burke, *Sir* John B., 44 *n.*
Burn, Richard, his "Ecclesiastical Law," 118. His "Justice of the Peace," 120, 125 *n.*
Burns, Robert, his "Cotter's Saturday Night," 65.
Burroughs, George, 368.
Butel-Dumont, George M., 185 *n.*, 186 *n.* His "Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane," 173 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 178 *n.*, cited, 178.

Butler, Caleb, his "Groton," 354.
Butler, James D., his "Early shipping on Lake Superior" cited, 141 *n.* His letter accompanying account of third burial of Sergeant Floyd cited, 261, *et seq.*
Butler, Mann, 164 *n.*
Butler, Matthew C., 59.
Butler, William, 59.
Butterfield, Consul W., his "Discovery of the Northwest," 128 *n.*
Buttolph, Nicholas, 321, 326, 327, 344, 345.
Byfield, Nathaniel, 345.

C.

Cabeça de Vaca, *see* Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, A.
Cabrera, Paul Felix, 406.
Cadillac, Antoine de la Mothe, cited, 136 *n.*
Cadotte, Jean Baptiste, *fur trader*, 143 *n*, 144, *ib. n.*, 145, 146 *n.*, 150, 153.
Cadotte, Jean Baptiste, *Jr.*, 144 *n.*
Cadotte, Michel, *Sen.*, 144 *n.*, 145.
Cadotte, Michel, 145.
Caldwell, John, 62 *n.*
Caldwell, *Miss* Martha, 62 *n.*
Caldwell, William, his "exempt farm," 40.
"Caledonia. The Declaration of the Council constituted by the Indian and African Company of Scotland," *etc.*, 342, *et seq.*
Calef, Robert, 361, 370. His action in regard to the punishment of witchcraft, 364. His "More Wonders of the Invisible World," 365.
Calhoun, John C., 62, *ib. n.*, 80, 81.
Calhoun, Patrick, 62 *n.*
Cambridge Platform, 283, 309.
Campbell, Douglas, 8, 46 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 58, 59 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 375. Cited, 46.
Campbell, Duncan, 332, 337.
Campbell, *Mrs.* John, *missionary*, 148.
Campbell, *Col.* William, 57, *ib. n.*
Carey, Matthew, 83.
Carleton, *Sir* Guy, 44 *n.* His treatment of Richard Montgomery at the siege of Quebec, 44–46.
Carr, Lucien, 11. Communicates a paper on "The Food of Certain American Indians and their Methods of Preparing it," 155–190.
Carré, Ezechiel, his "Echantillon," 320.
Carruth, *Miss* Anna F. (*Mrs. Hamilton A. Hill*), 208.
Carruth, Charles, 208.
Carruth, *Mrs.* Mary A., 208.
Cartier, Jacques, 166 *n.*, 175, *ib. n.* His "Voyages," cited, 156 *n.*
Carver, Jonathan, his "Travels," 132 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 180 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 188 *n.*
Casas, Bartolomé de las, *Bp. of Chiapa*, 406.
Cass, *Gov.* Lewis, 146 *n.* At Chequamegon Bay, 135 *n.*
Castañeda de Nagera, Pedro de, 157 *n.*
Catechism. "Exposition on the Church-Catechism," 318. "The Jacobites Catechism," 327. "A Short Catechism," by James Noyes, 334.
Chalmers, George, 371.
Chambers, Robert, 118.
Champlain, Samuel de, 156 *n.*, 157 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 164 *n.*–166 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 181 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 188 *n.* cited, 159 *n.*
Chandler, Peleg W., his "American Criminal Trials," 372.
Chandler Fund, 249, 252.
Channing, Edward, 199.
Channing, William E., 40.
Channing, William H., 15.
Charles I., *of England*, 119.
Charles II., *of England*, 35, 130.
Charlevoix, Pierre F. X. de, 140 *n.*, 157 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 161 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 170 *n.*–172 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 181 *n.*, 182 *n.*, 184 *n.*–186 *n.*, 188 *n.*, 189 *n.* His "Nouvelle France," cited, 161 *n.*, 162 *n.*
Charnay, Désiré, 193.
Chase, Charles A., 11, 201. Proposes amendment of By-Laws, Article IV., 2. Elected Recording Secretary, 197. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, *ib.*
Chauncy, Charles, 295.
Chauncy, *Rev.* Nathaniel, 313.
Checkley, Samuel, 300.
Cheever, Henry T., his gift, 77.
Chequamegon Bay, The Story of, paper communicated by Reuben G. Thwaites, 127–154.
Chichester, Henry M., 44 *n.*
Chichen Itza, 191, 193.

Chippewa Indians, 138, 139 *n.*, 141 *n.*, 143 *n.*, 381, 382. Traditions of, 131 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 134, *ib. n.*
Chiswel, Richard, 301.
Choate, Rufus, 6. His letters cited, 260.
Chouart, Médard, 130.
Christino Indians, 131.
"Chronological Account of the Several Ages of the World," 333.
"Chronological Treatise of the Several Ages of the World," 335.
Churchill, John, *Duke of Marlborough*, 395.
"Cincinnati Gazette," cited, 82.
Clapp, James R., 74.
Clark, George R., 56. Traditions rel. to, 56 *n.*
Clark, John, *Sen.*, traditions of, 56 *n.*
Clark, John, 56 *n.*
Clark, Jonathan, 56 *n.*
Clark, William J., 56 *n.*
Clarke, James Freeman, 15.
Clarke, William, 318.
Cleveland, *Pres.* Grover, 61.
Clinton, *Gen.* George, 57.
Clinton, *Sir* Henry, 389, 393.
Cobb, Howell, 16.
Cobbet, *Rev.* Thomas, 313.
Coles, Robert, punishment of, for drunkenness, 112.
"Collectanea Juridica," cited, 119 *n.*
Collection and Research Fund, 249, 250.
Colonial furniture, in possession of the Society, 255.
Colonial State Papers, Calendars of, 29.
"Construction of New Communities and States in the Northwest," paper by Cushman K. Davis, 374-386.
Corbet, John, his "Self Employment in Secret," 349.
Corey, Giles, 368.
Cornwallis, Charles, *Earl*, 21, 56.
Cortes, Hernando, 414.
Cotton, *Rev.* John, 321, 348. His "Spiritual Milk for Babes," 319, 322. His "A Discourse about Civil Government," 348. His "God's Promise to his Plantations," 349.
Council of the Society, Semi-annual report of, 12-31. Records of, cited, 72. Members of, 197. Annual report of, 204-211.
Cowse, James, 313.
Cromwell, Oliver, 6, 34, 395.
Cudworth, Ralph, 233.
Curwen, Samuel, 308.
Cushing, Abel, his "Historical letters," 373.
Cushing, Caleb, his letter cited, 260.
Cushman, Robert, 198.

D.

Dalton, Michael, his "Country Justice," 117 *n.*, 351, 352, *ib.*, cited, 117.
Dalzell, John, 47 *n.*
Danford, John, 285.
Danforth, John, his "Almanack," 348, 349. His "Kneeling to God at Parting with Friends," 350. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336.
Danforth, Samuel, his translation of Mather's five sermons into Indian, 340. His "Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness," 348. His "The Cry of Sodom Enquired into," 300.
Danvers, *Mass.*, Records of, 367.
Davenport, John, his "Another Essay for The Investigation of the Truth," 289. His "God's Call to his People," 301.
Davidson, John N., his "Missions on Chequamegon Bay," 148. His letter cited, 149 *n.*
Davis, Andrew McF., 10. Communicates a paper on "The Law of Adultery and Ignominious Punishments with Especial Reference to the Penalty of Wearing a Letter affixed to the Clothing," 97-126. His letter accompanying gift of "Letters and Papers—John Davis," 258, *et seq.*
Davis, Cushman K., 198, *ib. n.*, 199. Communicates a paper on the "Construction of New Communities and States in the Northwest," 374-386.
Davis, Dolor, 198 *n.*
Davis, Edward L., 71. Elected a Councillor, 197.
Davis, George H., 259.
Davis, Gheradi, 259.
Davis, Horace, 259.

Davis, John, 80, 258. His "Letters and Papers" presented to the Society, 259.
Davis, *Mrs.* John, 259.
Davis, John C. Bancroft, 259.
Davis Book Fund, 249, 251.
Davis family, record of, 83.
Deane, Charles, 13, 365.
De Beaubassin, Hertel, *French commandant*, 142.
De Bow's Review, 354.
De Foe, Daniel, 131.
De L'Isle, Guillaume, 140 *n.*
"Democratic Review," 80.
Denison, Daniel, his "Irenicon," 349.
Denison, Edward, 286.
Dennie, William, 5.
Descartes, René, 234, 235 *n.*
D'Esprit, Pierre, *fur trader*, 130.
Devotion family, record of, 83.
Dewey, Francis H., 195.
Dewey Fund, 249, 252.
Dexter, Franklin B., 98 *n.*, 229. Elected a Councillor, 197.
Dexter, Henry M., 361. His "Bibliography of Congregationalism," 359.
Dimsdale, Arthur, 123.
Dinsmore, Samuel, 61.
Dinsmore, Samuel, *Jr.*, 61.
Disney, John, 117 *n.*
Dolbeare, John, 302.
Dorsey, George A., 72.
Douay, Anatase, 168 *n.*
Douglas, William, his "Summary," 184 *n.*
Doyle, John A., 373. His "Puritan Colonies" cited, 356, 357, 364.
Drake, Francis S., 360. His "Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox," 57 *n.*
Drake, Samuel G., 357, 359. His "Indians of North America," 163 *n.* His "Annals of Witchcraft in New England," 353. His "Boston," 354. His "The Witchcraft Delusion of New England," 365.
Draper, Lyman C., 57 *n.*
Dresden Codex, 412.
Drunkenness, punishment of, 112, 113.
Dudley, *Gov.* Joseph, 285.
Dudley, Joseph, his "Almanack," 293, 294.
Du l'Hut, Daniel Grayson, explorations by, 137, 138.
Duluth, *Minn.*, derivation of name, 137.
Dummer, Jeremiah, 339.
Dummer, Shubael, 326.
Dumont, *See*, Butel-Dumont, G. M.
Dunbar, *Col.* David, 41.
Dunlap, *Capt.* Thomas, prints the first copy of the "Declaration of Independence," 53.
Dunton, John, 359, 360.
Du Pratz, *See* Le Page Du Pratz.
Dwight, *Rev.* Sereno E., 212 *n.*, 213, 221, 226, *ib. n.* His judgment as to the early writings of Jonathan Edwards, 214–218, 222, 224. His "Life of Jonathan Edwards," 222 *n.*, 223.

E.

Eames, Wilberforce, his bibliography of the "Bay Psalm Book," 282. His "Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible," 287, 290, 313.
Earle, Pliny, 77.
Edes, Henry H., 196.
Edison, Thomas A., 63 *n.*
Edward VI., *of England*, 101 *n.*, 120 *n.*
Edwards, *Rev.* Jonathan, 196. "Some Early Writings of," paper by Egbert C. Smyth, 212–236. Appendix, 237–247. Plates, 212, 239.
Edwards, *Miss* Martha, 229 *n.*
Edwards, *Rev.* Morgan, solicits funds for Brown University, 7.
Edwards, *Rev.* Timothy, 225. Cited, 229 *n.*, 230 *n.*
Election Sermons. "Souldiery Spiritualized," by Joshua Moody, 300. "A Call from Heaven," by Increase Mather, 306, *et seq.*
Eliot, Benjamin, 347.
Eliot, John, *Apostle of the Indians*, 292, 313, 319. Title page of 1st ed. of his "Indian Bible," 287. His "Indian Primer," 296. His "Indian Bible," in the Indian Language, 348.
Elizabeth, *Queen of England*, 102 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 119, 121, *ib. n.*, 125.
Ellery, William, 286.
Ellis, George E., 13, 195. His will cited, 10. His letter of acceptance of membership cited, 73. Acceptance of his bequest to the

Society of ten thousand dollars, 204, *et seq.* His memoir of C. W. Upham cited, 370.
Ellis Fund, 195, 204, 205, 249, 252. Establishment of, 248.
Emerson, Charles C., 15.
Emerson, William S., letter to, from C. C. Baldwin cited, 265.
English, Philip, 363. Record of the trial of, 368.
Essex Institute Historical Collections, 358.
Everett, Edward, 78, 81. His tribute to John Davis, 260.
Everett, William, 387.
"Exempt farms," 40.

F.

Farley, Frederick A., letter to, from C. C. Baldwin cited, 265.
Farmer, John, letter to, from C. C. Baldwin cited, 265.
Felt, Joseph B., 100 *n.*, 114 *n.*
Fenno, J. Brooks, 205.
Ferguson, Henry, his "Essays in American History," 373.
Ferry, William M., 14 *n.*
Finley, Samuel, 63.
Fiske family, record of, 83.
Fitch, James, his "Peace The End of the Perfect," 298.
Fitch, *Mrs.* Priscilla, 299.
Flemming, Andrew, punishment of, 107, *et seq.*
Flint, Josiah, his "Almanack," 292, 293.
Flint, Timothy, 168.
Floyd, *Sergeant* Charles, account of the third burial of, 261. Epitaph of, 262.
Flynt, *Rev.* Josiah, 284, 285.
Folger, Walter, *Jr.*, remarks on his letter, 290.
Force, Peter, letter to, from C. C. Baldwin, 265.
Foster, John, 302, 305, 307, 308, 310, 370. His "Almanack," 301, 349.
Fowle, William B., letter to, from C. C. Baldwin, 265, *et. seq.*
Fowler, Samuel P., 368. His "Account of the Life and Character of Rev. Samuel Parris," 357. His "Salem Witchcraft," 359, 365.
Fraley, Frederick, 207.
Franklin, Benjamin, 19. Manuscript notes of his visit to Göttingen University, 77.
Franquelin, Johannes L., 140 *n.* His map, 130.
Fraser, *Gen.* Simon, death of, at Battle of Saratoga, 55.
Frederick II., *the Great*, 387, 395.
Frelinghuysen, Theodore, 81.
Frontenac, Count de, *Governor of Canada*, 139 *n.*
Froude, James A., his "The English in Ireland in the 18th Century" cited, 54 *n.*
Fulton, Robert, 62, *ib. n.*
Furnis, Henry, 329.

G.

Gage, *Gen.* Thomas, 390, 396.
Galileï, Galileo, 218.
Galissonière, Roland M. B., *Marquis*, cited, 142 *n.*
Gallatin, Albert, his "Origin of American Civilization," 158 *n.*
Gardner, *Miss* Mary B., her gift to the Society, 199, 200, 202.
Garfield, *Pres.* James A., 61.
Gay, Sidney H., his "Popular History of the United States," 373.
George II., *of England*, 354.
George III., *of England*, 125, *ib. n.*
George, Elijah, his "Index to the Probate Records of the County of Suffolk, Mass., 1636-1893," 263.
Gibson, Edmund, 118 *n.* Cited, 118.
Giddens, William, 314.
Gill, Obadiah, *et al.*, "Some Few Remarks Upon a Scandalous Book Against the Government," 366.
Givers and gifts, lists of, 84-96, 268-280.
Glanvil, T., 354. His "Sadducismus triumphans," 351.
Glen, James, *printer*, 310.
Glover, Goody, last witch executed in Boston, 356.
Goad, Benjamin, 300.
Gomara, Francesco L. de, his "Historie General de los Indias," 157 *n.*
Goode, G. Brown, 72.
Goodell, Abner C., *Jr.*, 367, 369, 370. His "Further Notes on the History of Witchcraft" with notes upon *ib.*, 371, 372. His

"Reasons for concluding that the Act of 1711 became a law," 372.
Goodrich, *Sir* Henry, 341.
Goodrich, William M., 78.
Goodridge, *Miss* Sarah, 257.
Goodwin, *Miss* Mary F., withdrawal of, 71.
Gookin, Daniel, 171 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 179 *n.* Cited, 159 *n.*, 183 *n.*
Gould, Benjamin A., 15.
Goulding, Frank P., 14. Communicates obituary notice of P. Emory Aldrich, 22-24.
Grand Design, *ship*, 41.
Grant, *Pres.* Ulysses S., 61.
Gravier, Jacques, 157 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 185 *n.*
Gray, Asa, 40.
Gray, Matthew, 40.
Greeley, Horace, 62, *ib. n.*
Green, Bartholomew, *printer*, 321, 323, 325-327, 334, 336-341, 343, 345, 346.
Green, Mason A., his "Springfield memories," 256.
Green, Samuel, *printer*, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293, 295-301, 303, 305, 311-315, 319-321, 323.
Green, Samuel A., 98 *n.*, 108, 196, 198, 283, 286, 288, 302, 305, 307, 309, 310, 329, 345, 359. His Council report cited, 83. Elected a Councillor, 197. "His Early American Imprints," 291. A Chronological list of titles in his "Early American Imprints," which are also in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, 348-350. His "Groton in the Witchcraft Times," 354.
Green, Samuel S., 2, 6, 8. Further remarks on "The Scotch-Irish," 7. Presents the report for the Council, 12-31. Communicates a paper on the "Scotch-Irish in America," 32-66. Bibliographical Notes to *ib.*, 67-70. Elected a Councillor, 197.
Green, Timothy, 347.
Greene, J. Evarts, 72, 205. Elected a Councillor, 197. Remarks, 198. Presents obituary notice of J. Fletcher Williams, 208-210.
Greenhill, W., 291.
Greenwood, Ethan A., his portrait of Isaiah Thomas, 257. Facts rel. to his life, 258.
Gregg, Josiah, his "Commerce of the Prairies," 171 *n.*
Griffin, John, 314.
Groseilliers, Sieurs des, 130, *ib. n.*, 131 *n.*, 133, 137.
Guild, Reuben A., speaks of the interest of the Scotch-Irish in the founding of Brown University, 7.
Gustavus Adolphus II., *King of Sweden*, 83, 395.
Guy, Timothy, 83.

H.

H., N., his "Almanack," 299, 300.
Hakluyt, Richard, 156 *n.*
Hale, Edward E., 10, 13, 198. Remarks on the Scotch-Irish, 8. Speaks of the Peary Expedition, 11. Elected a Vice-President, 196. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 197.
Hale, George S., 204.
Hale, *Rev.* John, his "Modest Enquiry into the nature of Witchcraft," 366.
Hales, John, 361.
Hall, G. Stanley, 6, 9, 72. Remarks on the Scotch-Irish, 2-4. Elected a Councillor, 197.
Hall, Hubert, 14. Presents obituary of William Noel Sainsbury, 28-31.
Hall, Sherman, *missionary*, 148, 149, *ib. n.*
Hallam, Henry, 352.
Hamilton, A. H. A., 118 *n.*, 120 *n.*, 124, 125.
Hamilton, Alexander, 58.
Hamilton, Charles, his gift to the Society, 263.
Hamilton, James, *Viscount Clandeboye*, 33.
Hannibal, 395.
Harding, Chester, 78, 266.
Hariot, Thomas, 156 *n.*, 160 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 168 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 171 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 186 *n.*
Harris, Benjamin, *printer*, 320-322, 324, 326, 327, 330-333.
Harris, C. Fiske, 282.
Harris, Thaddeus M., 255. His "Account of Dorchester," 285.
Harrison, *Pres.* Benjamin, 61, 263.
Harrison, John, 33 *n.*-36 *n.* His "The Scot in Ulster," 32 *n.*
Harrison, *Pres.* William H., 59

Harshberger, John W., his "Maize," 156 *n*. *Ib*. cited, 160 *n*.
Hart, John, 329.
Hartop, *Sir* John, 333.
Haven, Samuel F., 76, 291, 334, 341, 354, 362. His Report, April 24, 1874, cited, 351, 352. His Report, Oct. 21, 1880, cited, 266, 267. MS, notes by, 286, 302, 330. His "Ante-Revolutionary Publications," 344.
Haven, *Mrs*. Samuel F., her gift to the Society, 76.
Haven Fund, 249, 251.
Hawkins, *Miss* Henrietta V., 31.
Hawkins, John, 31.
Hawks, Francis L., his "History of North Carolina," 354.
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 60, 100. His "Scarlet Letter," 97, 99. Remarks on his "Scarlet Letter," 98.
Hayes, *Pres*. Rutherford B., 61.
Haynes, Henry W., 199, 201. His letter to George F. Hoar, 201, *et seq*.
Hebberd, Stephen S., his "Wisconsin under French Domination," 138 *n*.
Heckewelder, John, 169 *n*.–171 *n*., 179 *n*.–181 *n*., 185 *n*.–187 *n*., 189 *n*. His "Indian Nations," 162 *n*., 163 *n*.
Helliard, Richard, 329.
Hennepin, Louis, rescue of, 137.
Henry VII., *of England*, 120 *n*., 125.
Henry VIII., *of England*, 101 *n*.
Henry, Alexander, 51 *n*., 141. His "Travels and Adventures" cited, 136 *n*., 143, 144 *n*. Spends the winter of 1765–66 at the French trading post, 143. Joins Cadotte, 144.
Henry, John, 51 *n*.
Henry, Joseph, 63, *ib*. *n*.
Henry, Patrick, 53, 56, 58.
Henry, William Wirt, 48 *n*., 52, 54, 55 *n*. Cited, 48. His "Patrick Henry" cited, 51 *n*.
Herrera, Antonia de, 164 *n*. Cited, 166 *n*.
Herrick, George, 368.
Hicks, *Sir* Francis, notice of, 63 *n*.
Hicks, Thomas D., 63 *n*.
Higginson, John, 333, 345. His "Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace," 315. His "The Cause of God and his People in New England," 348.
Hildeburn, Charles R., his "A Century of Printing," 329, *Ib*. cited, 331. His "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania," 344.
Hildreth, Richard, his "History of the United States," 373.
Hill, Alfred, 206.
Hill, *Mrs*. Anna A., 205.
Hill, Hamilton, 205.
Hill, Hamilton A., obituary notice of, communicated by Edward G. Porter, 205–208.
Hillard, George S., 6, 151.
Hincks, *Sir* Francis, 63.
Hoadly, Charles J., 98 *n*. Cited, 111.
Hoar, George F., 9, 13, 55 *n*., 198, 199. Remarks upon the intermarriages of the Scotch and Irish, 6, 7. Elected a Vice-President, 196. His letter to Stephen Salisbury, 198 *n*. His gift to the Society, 200–201. Letter from Henry W. Haynes to, 201, *et seq*.
Hoar, Rockwood, 11. Presents to the Society for Miss Gardner, two Greek vases, and for George F. Hoar a MS., 199–201.
Hoar, Samuel, 76.
Holland, Josiah G., his "History of Western Massachusetts," 38 *n*., 354.
Holmes, William H., 421. Cited, 129.
Holst, Hermann von, his "John C. Calhoun," 62 *n*.
Holt, *Sir* John, 341.
Holwell's Predictions, 320.
Homer, 374.
Hone, William, his "Year Book," 118.
Hooton, Thomas, 329.
Hopkins, Samuel, *of Newport*, his "Life and Character of the late Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards," 221 *n*.–223 *n*. *Ib*. cited, 221.
Houston, Samuel, 49, *ib*. *n*. At the Battle of the Horse Shoe of the Tallapoosa River, 60.
How, *Rev*. John, 325.
Howard, *Col*. John E., 57.
Howard, T. W., 27.
Howe, Samuel G., 78.
Hubbard, William, his "Benefit of Well-Ordered Conversation," 349.

Hudson, Charles, his letter cited, 260, *et seq.*
Hudson, William, his "A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber," 119, *n.*
Hull, John, 336.
Hull, *Mrs.* Judith, 336.
Hunnewell, James F., 196.
Hunter, John D., 156 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 168, 170 *n.*–172 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 178 *n.*, 182 *n.*
Hurd, Nathaniel, 78.
Huron, Indians, 134 *n.*
Hurst, John F., 282.
Hutchinson, Francis, *Bp.*, cited, 352–354. His "Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft," 355, 356.
Hutchinson, *Gov.* Thomas, 371. MS. address by, 200, 201. His "History of Massachusetts," 368. His "The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692," 369.

I.

Icazbalceta, Joaquin G., 13, 14. Obituary notice of, by Stephen Salisbury, 24–26.
Incest, punishment of, 106–108, 114.
Indian Bible, title page, 287, 289. Note rel. to, 290.
Indian Primer, 296.
Indians, "The Food of certain American Indians and their Methods of Preparing it," paper by Lucien Carr, 155–190.
Iredell, James, 58.
Iroquois Indians, 132.

J.

J., W., his "Remembrance of Former Times," 350.
Jackson, *Pres.* Andrew, 60, *ib. n.*, 61, 62, *ib. n.*
Jackson, James, obituary of, communicated by Stephen Salisbury, 210, 211.
Jacobs, George, record of the trial of, 368.
James I., *of England*, 33, 34, 42, 120 *n.*
James II., *of England*, 34.
James, Woodbridge L., *missionary*, 149.
Jameson, J. Franklin, speaks of the Scotch-Irish in America, 8, 9.
Janeway, James, his "A Token for Children," 346. "A Token for Children, 2d part," 347.
Jansen, Reynier, 344.
Jay, John, first Chief Justice of the United States, 58.
Jefferson, *Pres.* Thomas, 8, 54, 58, 61.
Jenkins, John S., 62 *n.*
Johnson, *Pres.* Andrew, 61, 62 *n.*
Johnson, Marmaduke, *printer*, 287, 288, 290, 294–297, 300.
Johnson, Samuel, *Pres. of Columbia College*, 234.
Johnston, John, *fur-trader*, 144.
Joliet, Louis, 130, 134.
Jones, Charles C., his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," 175 *n.*
Josselyn, John, his "Account of Two Voyages to New England," 114 *n.*, 157 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 176 *n.*, 183 *n.*, 186 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 114.
Joutel, 171 *n.*, 178 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 181 *n.*
Judd, Sylvester, his "Hadley," 354.

K.

Keech, B., 320.
Keep, Francis, presents an account of how "The Falls of Niagara ran dry," 74, *et seq.*
Keith, George, 330, 331. His "A Refutation of Three Opposers of Truth," 320, 321. His "A Serious Appeal to all the more Sober," 328. His "Some Reasons and Causes of the Late Separation at Philadelphia," 328, 329. His "Truth and Innocency Defended," 329. His "Christianity of the People called Quakers," 344. His "Truth Advanced," 334, *et seq.*
Kelley, D. C., 49 *n.*, 59 *n.* His "Scotch-Irish in America," 60 *n.*
Kerr, Charles, 82.
Kerr, Mark, 82.
Keyes, John S., 76.
King's Mountain, *Battle of*, 56.
Kip, William I., *Bp.*, 170 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 184 *n.*–186 *n.*, 188 *n.* His "The Early Jesuit Missions," 169 *n.*
Kirkland, John T., 78.
Knap, Elizabeth, 354.
Knox, *Gen.* Henry, 57, *ib. n.*, 58.
Knox, John, 53, 64.
Kohl, Johann G., his "Kitchi-Gami," 171 *n.*

Kohler, German, 420.
Kuhn, Jacob, 78.

L.

Lafitau, Joseph F. 160 *n.*–162 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 170 *n.*–172 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 179 *n.*-182 *n.*, 186 *n.*–188 *n.* His "Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains," 156 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 189.
La Hontan, *Baron de* (true name Guendeville), 164 *n.*, 182, *ib. n.*, 184 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 189 *n.* Cited, 183 *n.*
Lake Superior Congregational Club, preserves Mission Church at La Pointe, 150.
Lallemant, Charles, cited, 130.
Lambarde, William, 117 *n.*
Landa, Diego de, *Bp.*, 405–407, 411, 412, 415. His "Cosas de Yucatan," 399. *Ib.* cited, 400 402.
La Noüe, *Lieut.* Robertel, *French commandant*, 140.
La Pointe, *Wisconsin*, 133 *n.*, 134, 135 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 145, 150. Becomes a trading post, 136. Creed of the Church at, 149 *n.* Preservation of "Pére Marquette" church, 150. Changes in location of, 152–154. Establishment of Protestant Mission at, 147–149.
La Ronde, Denis, *fur trader*, 141.
La Ronde, John, *trader*, 140 *n.*
La Ronde, Sieur Denis, *fur trader*, 141.
La Salle, *Chevalier de*, 137.
Lathrop, George P., 99 *n.* His "A Study of Hawthorne" cited, 99.
Lathrop, *Rev.* John, 255.
Laudonnière, René G. de, 170 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 184 *n.*–186 *n.*, 189 *n.* His "L'histoire notable de la Floride," 161 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 168 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 168.
Law of Adultery and Ignominious Punishments—with Especial reference to the Penalty of Wearing a Letter Affixed to the Clothing, paper by Andrew McF. Davis, 97–126.
Lawrence, Abbott, 207.
Lawson, Deodat, 358. His "Christ's Fidelity the only Shield," 350. His "True Narrative," 360.
Lawson, John, 170 *n.*–172 *n.* His "History of Carolina," 161 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 168, 181 *n.*–184 *n.*, 187 *n.*–189 *n.*
Lechford, Thomas, his "Note-Book," 257.
Lecky, William E. H., 36 *n.* His "History of England" cited, 34, *ib. n.* His "History of Rationalism," 351.
Lee, Horace, 256.
Lee, Robert E., 263.
Lee, Samuel, his "A Summons or Warning to the Great Day of Judgement," 326. His "Joy of Faith," 349. His "Contemplations on Mortality," 350.
Leeds, Daniel, 330.
Leindoby, 180.
Leland, Thomas, his "History of Ireland," 35 *n.*
Le Page du Pratz, 164 *n.*–166 *n.*, 168 *n.*, 170 *n.*–172 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 180 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 188 *n.* Cited, 176.
Lescarbot, Mars, 156 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 170 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 185 *n.*, 189 *n.*
Le Sueur, *trader*, 137, 139, *ib. n.*
Levis, R., 331.
Lewis, Alonzo, 39 *n.*
Lewis, John A., 285.
Librarian, *see* Barton, Edmund M.
Librarian's and General Fund, 248–250.
Library of the Society, reports of the Librarian, 71–83, 254–267. Improvements in lower hall, 71, 254, 255. Transfer of relics to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge and the Worcester Society of Antiquity, 72. Sources of gifts to, 75, 76. 258. List of givers and gifts to, 84-96, 268-280. Paine and Sturgis MSS. in, 263. Increasing use of, 266.
Lincoln, *Pres.* Abraham, 61.
Lincoln, William, 39 *n.*, 259, 264.
Lincoln Legacy Fund, 249, 251.
Linctot, *Ensign*, 140.
"List of Early American Imprints in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, 1640–1700," paper by Nathaniel Paine, 281–350.
Livingston, William, 58.
Livingstone, David, 127.
Locke, John, 231, 233–235, *ib. n.* His "Essay on the Human Understanding," 221.
Lodowick, Christianus, his "New England Almanack," 335, 336.
Logan, *Gov.* James, 46, 47 *n.*

Speaks of the Scotch-Irish immigration to this country, 48.
Londonderry, *N. H.*, 41-43, 50. Settlement of, by Scotch-Irish, 37, 40. Distinguished citizens of, 61.
Longfellow, Henry W., 368.
Loskiel, Georg H., 166 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 169 *n.*-173 *n.*, 178 *n.*, 182 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 190 *n.* His "Indians of North America," 165 *n.*
Lossing, Benson J., 55 *n.*, 59 *n.*
Louis XV., *of France*, 193.
Love, Wm. De Loss, *Jr.*, his "Fast and Thanksgiving days of New England," 367.
Lowell, Francis C., elected a member, 10.
Lowell, James Russell, 81. Cited, 353.
Luther, Martin, 54.
Lynde, Benjamin, 120 *n.*, 126 *n.*
Lynde family, record of, 83.
Lyon, Georges, 216, 217. His "L'Idealisme en Angleterre au XVIIIe Siècle," 213, *ib. n.*, 218.

M.

Macaulay, Thomas B., *1st Baron*, 35. His "History of England," 35 *n.*
McClellan, *Gen.* George B., 17, 39.
McClellan, James, 39.
McClure, Alexander K., 53 *n.*
McCormick, Cyrus H., 62.
McCosh, James, 4.
McCullock, Henry, 47 *n.* Introduces a colony of Scotch-Irish into North Carolina, 48.
McFarland, Andrew, 40.
MacGregor, James, 37.
MacIntosh, John S., his "The making of the Ulsterman," 33 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 33.
McKean, *Rev.* Joseph, 255.
McKeen, John, 62 *n.*
McKeen, Joseph, first President of Bowdoin College, 62.
McKenney, Thomas L., 140 *n.* His "History of the Indian Tribes" cited, 144 *n.*
MacKinney, John, first Gov. of Delaware, 58.
Macloskie, George, 46 *n.*, 47 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 65 *n.* Statement rel. to Declaration of Independence, 53.
MacMahon, Marie E. P. M., *French marshal*, 397, 398.
McNutt, *Col.* Alexander, 43.
Macpherson, David, 35 *n.*
Madelaine Island, 131 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 138-140 *n.*, 144, 148, 150. Destruction of the fort at, 142-143.
Madison, *Pres.* James, 61.
Maine, *Sir* Henry, 375.
Maine, Scotch-Irish settlements in, 41.
Map of Chequamegon Bay, 127.
"Map of Man's Misery; or, The Poor Man's Pocket-Book," 324, 325.
Marest, Gabriel, 169 *n.*
Margry, Pierre, 136 *n.*
Marlborough, John, *Duke of*, *see* Churchill, John.
Marquette, Jacques, 130, 137, 151, 161 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 167, 170 *n.*, 173 *n.*, 188 *n.* Goes to La Pointe, 135. Establishes the Mission of St. Ignace, 136. Church built by, 150. His "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," 157 *n.*
Marshall, John, 58.
Martin, Sarah G., and Deborah B., 129 *n.*
Martin manuscripts, 142 *n.*
Marvin, Abijah P., his "Cotton Mather and his Times," 362.
Mary, *Queen of England*, 314, 324.
Mason, *Mrs.* Anne, funeral sermon of, 298.
Mason, *Major*, John, 298, 299.
Massachusetts, legislation of, relating to the punishment of adultery, 98-126. "General Laws and Liberties," 286, 301, 348. "Laws and Orders" published by Edward Rawson, 292-294. "Several Laws and Orders," 301-304, 348. "Laws and Ordinances of Warre," 302. "Several Acts and Laws," 324. "Charters granted by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, 324, 341, 342. "Acts and Laws," 329, 330.
Massachusetts Colonial Laws, 100, *ib. n.*, 109 *n.*, 114 *n.*
Massachusetts Colony Records, 102 *n.*-104 *n.*, 108 *n.*, 109 *n.*, 112 *n.*, 115 *n.*, 124. Cited, 103.
Massachusetts Historical Collections, 357, 367, 368.
Massachusetts Province Laws, cited, 106-108.

Mather, Cotton, 320, 321, 328, 345, 348-351, 355, 357, 373. His "Magnalia," 109, 354. *Ib.* cited, 110. His "The Call of the Gospel Applyed," 314, 317. His "Small Offers," 318. His "Work upon the Ark," 319. His "Blessed Union," 325. His "Fair Weather," and "Preparatory Meditations upon the Day of Judgment," 326. His "A Midnight Cry," 327. His "Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion," 328. His "Rules for the Society of Negroes," 331. His "Unum Necessarium," 332. His "Winter Meditations," 332, 333. His "The Short History of New England," 334. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336. His "Things for a Distress'd People to think upon," 337. His "Thoughts of a Dying Man," 339. His "A Good Man making a Good End," 340. His "La Fe del Christiano," "Pillars of Salt," and "A Family Well-Ordered," 343. His "The Everlasting Gospel," 345. His "Things that Young People should think upon," 346. His "A Token for the Children of New England, 347. His "Memorable Providences" cited, 356. Facts rel. to the publishing of his "Wonders of the Invisible World," 358, 359. His connection with the punishment of witchcraft in New England, 359-373.

Mather, *Rev.* Eleazer, his "A Serious Exhortation," 304, 305, 348.

Mather, Increase, 283, 289, 321, 323, 325, 336, 345, 348-350, 355,-357, 359, 366. His "Pray for the Rising Generation," 305. His "The Wicked Man's Portion," 302. His "A Call from Heaven," 306, 307. His "Returning unto God," 309. His "Heaven's Alarm to the World," 309, 310. His "Practical Truths," 311. His "The Greatest Sinners Exhorted," 315. His "A Sermon . . . Execution of a Man," 316. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336. His "Angelographia," 336, 337. His "A Disquisition Concerning Angelic Apparitions," 337. His "David Serving His Generation," 339, 340. His Five sermons tr. into Indian by Samuel Danforth, 340. His "Gospel Order Revised," 345. His "Cases of Conscience," 357.

Mather, Nathaniel, his "Sermon on the Constant Exercise of Grace," 349.

Mather, Richard, 282, 285, 348. MS. note by, 291.

Mather, Samuel, his "Testimony from the Scripture against Idolatry," 348.

Maury, Louis F. A., his "Histoire de la Magie," 351.

Mead, *Rev.* Matthew, 325.

Mechanic Association, *Springfield, Mass.*, 255.

Members, names of those present at meetings, 1, 195.

Membré, Zénobe, his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," 170 *n.*, 171 *n.*, 186 *n.*

Ménard, Pierre, establishes a mission among the Ottawas, 134.

Mendenhall, Thomas C., elected a member, 9. Elected a Councillor, 197.

Merriam, John McK., 98 *n.*

Mico, John, 315.

Miller, *Gen.* James, 60.

Miller, Thomas, 43 *n.*

Milton, John, cited, 18.

Minnesota, early settlement of, 377, 378. Character of immigration to, 384.

Minnesota Historical Society, growth of, 209. Collections of, 133 *n.*, 134 *n.*, 138 *n.*-140 *n.*, 142 *n.*, 144 *n.*-147 *n.*

Mitchell, Jonathan, his "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesome Times," 348.

Moltke, Hellmuth von, *count*, 397.

Monmouth, *Earl of*, 341.

Monroe, *Pres.* James, 8, 61.

Montague, *Earl of*, 341.

Montgomery, Alexander, 44 *n.*

Montgomery, Hugh, *Lord*, 33.

Montgomery, Richard, account of his attempt to take Quebec and his death, 44-46. Ancestry of, 44 *n.*

Montgomery, Thomas, 44 *n.* His

"Ancestry of General Richard Montgomery," 44 *n.*
Moody, Joshua, 349, 363. His "Souldiery Spiritualized," 300. His "The Believer's happy Change," 338. His "An Exhortation to a Condemned Malefactor," 315, 317.
Moore, Andrew, 31.
Moore, Clarence B., elected a member, 10.
Moore, Elizabeth, 353.
Moore, *Miss* Emily S., 31.
Moore, George H., 358, 359, 363, 365. His introduction to "Rules for the Society of Negroes" cited, 331, 332. His "Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts," 371. His "Supplementary Notes on Witchcraft" and "Final Notes on Witchcraft," 372. His "Bibliographical Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts," 373.
Morgan, *Gen.* Daniel, 57 *n.* Commander at the Battle of Saratoga, 55.
Morgan, Lewis H., his "Ancient Society" cited, 155. His "League of the Iroquois," 160 *n.*, 163 *n.* His "Home-life," 188 *n.*
Morison, *Rev.* John, anecdote of, 62.
Morris, George S., his "History of Philosophy," 235 *n.*
Morrison, Leonard A., his letter, 36 *n.*
Morse, *Rev.* Jedediah, 63. His "Report on Indian affairs," 185 *n.*
Morse, Samuel F. B., 63.
Morton, Charles, his "The Spirit of Man," 332. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336.
Morton, Nathaniel, 295, 301. His "New-England's Memoriall," 295, 296.
Muenchhausen, Hierymus K., *Baron*, 74.
Munchausen, *Baron*, *see* Muenchhausen, H. K.
[Myles, Samuel], sermon, funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Riscarrick, 341.

N.

Nantes, Edict of, 35.
Napoleon I., *Emperor of the French*, 395–397.
Neill, Edward D., cited, 138 *n.*, 149. His "History of the Ojibways" cited, 134 *n.*, 135 *n.*
Nelson, Horatio, *1st Viscount*, 59.
Neville, Ella H., her "Historic Green Bay," 129.
Nevin, Winfield S., 373.
"New England Historical and Genealogical Register," 354, 367.
"New England Magazine," portraits in, referred to by Edmund M. Barton, 78.
New York Colonial Documents, 141 *n.*
Newton, *Sir* Isaac, 218, 226, 233–235.
Newton, Thomas, 371.
Niagara Falls, account of how the Falls ran dry, communicated by Francis Keep, 74, *et seq.*
Nicolet, Jean, 127, 128, *ib. n.*, 140. Explorations in Wisconsin, 128.
Nims, Edward B., his gift to the Society, 77.
Nixon, *Capt.* John, 53.
Norton, John, his "Three Choice and Profitable Sermons," 348.
Nowell, Alexander, his "Almanack," 291.
Nowell, Samuel, his "Abraham in Arms," 348.
Noyes, James, his "A Short Catechism," 334.
Noyes, Nicholas, his "New England's Duty and Interest," 350
Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Alvan, 161 *n.*, 174, 184, *ib. n.*, 185 *n.*

O.

Oakes, Urian, 300, 348, 349. His "A Seasonable Discourse," 311.
Oates, Titus, 120.
O'Callaghan, Edmund B., his "Documentary History of New York," 354.
Olcott, *Mrs.* Emily A., 26.
Olcott, George, 13, 14. Obituary of, by Stephen Salisbury, 26–28.
Olcott, George, *Sen.*, 26.
Olcott, Simeon, 26.
Ordoñez y Aguiar, Ramon, 406, 407.
Osgood, Mary, indictment of, 368.
Osgood, S. S., 78.
Ottawa Indians, 131 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 134 *n.*, 136.
Oxenbridge, John, his "New Eng-

land Freemen Warned and Warmed," 348.
Oxenstiern, Axel, 387.

P.

Paige, Lucius R., attends the semi-annual meeting, 1, *et seq.*
Paine, George, presents Paine and Sturgis MSS., 263.
Paine, Nathaniel, elected Secretary *pro tem.*, 1. Speaks of his annual report, 196. Elected Treasurer, 197. Elected a member of the Committee of Publication, *ib.* Speaks of Dr. Green's list of books belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, printed previous to 1700, 198. Presents his report as Treasurer, 248–253. Communicates "A List of Early American Imprints in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, 1640–1700," 281–350.
Paine, Timothy, 83.
Paine and Sturgis MSS. preserved in the Library of the Society, 263.
Pakenham, *Sir* Edward M., 396.
"Palenque," paper communicated by Edward H. Thompson, 191–194. "Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Palenque Tablets," Pt. 2, paper by Philipp J. J. Valentini, 399–417. Illustrations, 404, 406. "Ancient Tombs of Palenque," paper by Edward H. Thompson, 418–421. Illustration, 418.
Palfrey, John G., his "History of New England," 354, 358, 361, 373.
Palmer, John, 322.
Parker, Dexter F., cited, 77.
Parker, Edward L. 39 *n.*, 51, 52 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 62 *n.*, 65 *n.* His "History of Londonderry," 42 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 42, 55 *n.*, 61.
Parkman, Francis, 44 *n.* His "Half Century of Conflict," 138 *n.*
Parma, Alessandro F., *Duke*, 32.
Parris, *Rev.* Samuel, 357.
Parsons, Hugh, 353.
Parton, James, his "Life of Andrew Jackson" cited, 60 *n.* His "Famous Americans of Recent Times," 62 *n.*
Patch family, record of, 82.
Patterson, George, his "History of the County of Pictou," 43.
Peabody, Oliver W. B., his "Life of Cotton Mather," 361.
Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, 71, 72.
Peary, Robert E., 11.
Pemberton, Ebenezer, 363.
Pendleton, John, 79.
Pendleton, William S., 78, 257. Account of, as given in Christopher C. Baldwin's Diary, 78, 79. Further facts rel. to his life, 80.
Penn, William, interested in colonization of New Jersey by Scotchmen, 46.
Pepperell, *Sir* William, 50.
Percy, George, 161 *n.*
Perkins, William, punishment of, for drunkenness, 113.
Perkins, William, 354.
Perrot, Nicolas, 159 *n.*, 167 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 170 *n.*, 184 *n.*–186 *n.*, 188 *n.*, 189 *n.*
Perry, Arthur L., 37, 39.
Perry, Christopher R., 59 *n.*
Perry, Matthew C., 60.
Perry, Michael, 334, 341, 343.
Perry, Oliver H., victory on Lake Erie, 59 *n.*
Petty, *Sir* William, his "Political Survey of Ireland" cited, 34.
Phelps, Walter, 80.
Phillimore, Robert, 118 *n.*
Phillips, Samuel, 312, 314, 317, 323–325, 327, 328, 334, 336, 337, 343.
Phips, *Sir* William, 285, 357, 358, 361, 365, 372. Interest in Witchcraft, 359, 360.
Pickens, *Gen.* Andrew, 57, *ib. n.*
Pickering, John, 368.
Pierce, Edward L., 40 *n.* Remarks on the Scotch-Irish in America, 4–6. Speaks of Mr. Davis's paper, 199.
Pierce, Henry L., 206.
Pierce, Richard, 318.
Pike, John S., his "Life of Robert Pike," 363.
Pike, Luke O., 117. His "A History of Crime in England," 102 *n.*, 120 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 102, 125, *ib. n.*
Pike, Robert, 363.
Pilling, James C., tribute to, 264.
Pittsburg, *Pa.*, influence of the Scotch-Irish upon, 47.

Plymouth Colony Records, Laws, 110 *n.*, 111 *n.*
Polk, *Pres.* James K., 61.
Poole, Matthew, 83.
Poole, William F., 354, 358, 361, 362, 364, 365, 369. Controversy with Chas. W. Upham about Witchcraft, 369-371.
Porter, Edward G., 201. Presents obituary notice of Hamilton A. Hill, 205-208.
Porter, Noah, 235 *n.* His "The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bp. George Berkeley," 234 *n.*
Potato, introduction of use of Irish potato into Worcester, 39, *ib. n.*
Prescott, *Col.* William, 20, 55, 387. At Battle of Breed's Hill, 388, 390-394.
Prescott, William H., 25.
Presidents of the United States, ancestors of, 61.
Preston, William C., his tribute to John Davis, 261.
Prince, Thomas, 296. MS. note by, 309.
Princeton College, 46.
Prynne, *Miss* Hester, 97, 98, 123.
Publishing Committee, members of, 197.
Publishing Fund, 249, 250.
Pudeator, Ann, 368.
Pullman cars, seen for first time in Boston, 206.
Purchas, Samuel, 176 *n.*
Purver, Anthony, 82.
Pusey, Caleb, 330.
Putnam, Frederic W., 72.
Putnam, *Maj.-Gen.* Israel, 55.
Putnam, *Gen.* Rufus, 55, 398. At Battle of Bunker Hill, 391, *et seq.*
"Putnam's Magazine," 373.
Pynchon, *Gov.* John, chair made from the house of, 255, 256.

Q.

Quakers, "Some Reasons and Causes of the late Separation at Philadelphia," 328, 329. "New-England's Spirit of Persecution," 330. "Pretended Yearly Meeting of the Quakers," 331.
Quincy, Edmund, 336.
Quincy, Josiah, 362.

R.

R. J., his "Almanack," 297.
Radisson, Sieur, 137, 153. His "Voyages" cited, 130, 131, *ib. n.*, 132. Passes the winter of 1661-62 in Minnesota, 133. Goes to Lake Superior, 134, 135.
Râle *or* Ralle *or* Rasles, Sebastien, his Jesuit Missions" cited, 169 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 188 *n.*
Ramsay, David, 49 *n.* Cited, 48, 49.
Randolph, Edmund, 58.
Randolph, John, 263.
Ranger, Edmund, 305.
Rasle, *see* Râle, S.
Raudin, Sieur, *trading agent*, 137.
Rawson, Edward, 286, 287, 292-294, 301, 323.
Rawson, Grindal, 322.
Red Wing, *Minn.*, 138.
Reed, James, 55, *ib. n.*
Reid, James, 36 *n.*
Reid, Whitelaw, 62, *ib. n.*
Remesal, Antonio da, 406.
Revere, Paul, 78.
"Revolution in New England justified," 322.
Reynolds, Grindall, 76,
Rice, Franklin P., 263.
Richards, John, 357.
Rio, Antonio del, 406, 411.
Riscarrick, *Mrs.* Elizabeth, funeral sermon, 341.
Robbins, Chandler, his "History of the Second Church in Boston," 361.
Robertson, *Miss* Jean, 51 *n.*
Robertson, William, 51 *n.*
Robinson, Edward, his description of two Greek vases belonging to the Society, 202, *et seq.*
Rogers, *Miss* Ann, 56 *n.*
Rogers, Daniel, 337.
Rogers, *Capt.* George W., 59.
Rogers, John, *the martyr*, 314.
Rogers, Robert, 50.
Romans, Bernard, 170 *n.*-172 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 181 *n.*, 182 *n.* His "Natural history of East and West Florida," 165 *n.*
Romney, *Earl of*, 341, 342.
Rose, George McL., 63 *n.*
Ross, Hugh, 343.
Roth family, record of, 83.
Rowe, John, his "Diary" cited, 5.
Rubens, Peter Paul, 31.
Rule, Margaret, 364, 365.
Rutledge, John, 58.

S.

Sabin, Joseph, 295, 314, 318, 329, 335, 337. His "Dictionary of Books Relating to America," 296, 307, 322, 327, 330, 331, 345.
Sagard Théodat, Gabriel, 162 *n.*-166 *n.*, 169 *n.*, 170 *n.*, 173 *n.*-175 *n.*, 179 *n.*-182 *n.*, 184 *n.*, 186 *n.*, 189 *n.* His "Voyage du Pays des Hurons" cited, 158 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 161 *n.*, 166 *n.*
Sainsbury, *Miss* Ethel, 29.
Sainsbury, John, 28.
Sainsbury, *Mrs.* Mary A., 28.
Sainsbury, William Noel, 14. Tribute to, by Samuel S. Green, 13. Obituary of, by Hubert Hall, 28-31.
St. Ignace, mission of, 136.
St. Lusson, Sieur, 138 *n.*, 144.
St. Pierre, *Capt.* Paul Legardeur, 140.
Salem, *Mass.* Copy of Church Covenants, 308. "Records of Salem Witchcraft," 367.
Salisbury, *Hon.* Stephen, 13, 206.
Salisbury, Stephen, 11, 14, 72, 195, 204, 205. Speaks of the attendance of Dr. Paige at the meeting, 1, 2. Speaks of Dr. Ellis's bequest to the Society, 10. Communicates an obituary of Joaquin G. Icazbalceta, 24-26. Communicates an obituary of George Olcott, 26-28. Elected President, 196. Announces the death of Hamilton A. Hill, J. Fletcher Williams and James Jackson, *ib.* Reads letter from George F. Hoar, 198 *n.* Communicates an obituary of James Jackson, 210-211.
Salisbury Building Fund, 248-251.
Sargent, John O., 78.
Savage, James, 364.
Savage, *Major* Thomas, his funeral sermon by Samuel Willard, 312.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., 140 *n.*, 144 *n.*, 165 *n.* Visits Chequamegon Bay, 135 *n.* His "Narrative" cited, 146 *n.*
Scobell, Henry, his "A Collection of Acts and Ordinances," 102 *n.*
Scot, Reginald, his "Discovery of Witchcraft," 352.
Scotch-Irish in America, remarks upon, by G. Stanley Hall, 2-4. Paper on, by Samuel S. Green, 32-66. Bibliographical Notes to, *ib.*, 67-70.
Scott, *Sir* Walter, his "Quentin Durward," 32. His "Fortunes of Nigel," 33. His "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," 353.
Scott, *Gen.* Winfield, 17.
Scottow, Joshua, his "Old Mens Tears," 322. His "Narrative of the Planting of the Mass. Colony," 350.
Sears, Eben, *Jr.*, 206.
Sedan, *Battle-field at*, 396.
Semi-annual meeting of the Society, April 24, 1895, 1.
Sever, *Col.* James W., 309.
Sewall, Samuel, *Chief Justice*, 310, 311, 323, 363, 367. Cited, 361. His "Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica," 338, *et seq.*
Sewall, Stephen, 358.
Seward, William H., cited, 260.
Shaw, Lemuel, *Chief Justice*, 6.
Shea, John G., 179 *n.*, 184 *n.* His "Early Voyages," 157. His "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," 161 *n.*
Shepard, Jeremiah, his "Ephemeris," 298.
Shepard, *Rev.* Thomas, 291, 300, 348. His "Wine For Gospel Wantons," 295. His "Sincere Convert," in Indian, 319. His "The Church membership of Children," 348.
Sherman, James, *et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336.
Sherman, John, 295, 300. His "Almanack," 303.
Sherwood, Isaac, 354.
Short, Mercy, 368.
Shrewsbury, *Duke of*, 341, 342.
Shurtleff, Nathaniel B., 282.
Shute, *Gov.* Samuel, 37.
Siam, *King of*, his gift to the Society of the TRIPITAKA, 77.
Sibley, John L., his "Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates," 314, 362-364, 368.
"Sion in Distress, or the Groans of the Protestant Church," 311.
Sioux Indians, 136, 137, 382. Influence of the French upon, 383.
Small, John, 296.
Smith, Albert, his "Genealogy and

history of Peterborough families," 60 *n.*
Smith, Buckingham, 161 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 184 *n.*
Smith, Charles C., elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 197. Communicates an obituary of Robert C. Winthrop, 14-22.
Smith, H. W., 257.
Smith, Isaac T., *Consul-General of Siam*, 77.
Smith, Jeremiah, 61.
Smith, *Capt.* John, 168, 169 *n.*-172 *n.*, 179 *n.*-182 *n.*, 184 *n.* His "Virginia" cited, 161 *n.*,163 *n.*, 184.
Smith, John R., 257, 359.
Smith, William A., 72. Elected an Auditor, 197. Certificate as Auditor, 253.
Smyth, Egbert C., 195, 196. Elected a Councillor, 197. Presents report of the Council, 204-211. Communicates a paper on "Some Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards," 212-236. Appendix, 237-247.
Somers, J., 342.
Sommers family, record of, 83.
Soto, Fernando de, 176.
South Carolina, early settlers of, 48, 49.
Sparks, Jared, 13, 44 *n.* His "American Biography," 361.
Spinola, Ambrosio, 32.
Spooner, *Miss* Abigail, *missionary*, 149.
Sprague, Charles, 78.
Sprague, John, 286.
Stark, Archibald, 50 *n.*
Stark, John, 50, *ib. n.*, 55 *n.* At Breed's Hill, 54. His victory over Burgoyne's Army, 55.
Stark, *Mrs.* Mollie, 55.
Stark, William, 50, *ib. n.*
Stearns, Charles, 256.
Stearns, Ezra S., elected a member, 198.
Stedman, William, notice of, 286.
Steele, Richard, 228.
Stephens, John L., his "Incidents of Travel," 413.
Stoddard, *Rev.* Solomon, 232. His "The Safety of Appearing at the Day of Judgement," 317. His "The Tryal of Assurance," 341. His "The Doctrine of Instituted Churches," 344.
Story, Joseph, 78.
Stoughton, John A., his "Windsor Farmes," 225 *n.*, 229 *n.*, 231 *n.*
Stoughton, *Gov.* William, 285, 363. His "New England's True Interest," 348.
Street, Thomas C., 74, 75.
Stuart, Gilbert, 78.
Stubbes, Henry, his "Conscience the Best Friend upon Earth," 344.
Sullivan, James, 57 *n.*
Sumner, Charles, 15, 16.
Sumner, William G., his "Andrew Jackson as a Public Man," 60 *n.*
Swords, James, letter to, from C. C. Baldwin, cited, 264.
Synod, Boston, 1679, "Necessity of Reformation," 307. Boston, 1680, "Confession of Faith," 308. "A Defence of the Answers and Arguments of the Synod," 348.

T.

Taft, Henry W., his gift to the Society, 76.
Tailhan, J., 134 *n.*
Tannatt, Abraham G., 256.
Tanner, John, his "Narrative" cited, 167 *n.*
Tappin, John, 299.
Tarshamy, Benjamin, *minister to the Indians*, 290.
Taylor, *Pres.* Zachary, 60, 61.
Tell, William, 55 *n.*
Temple, *Miss* Elizabeth, 15.
Temple, *Capt.* Robert, 40, *ib. n.*, 41.
Tenney Fund, 249, 251.
Test Act, 35.
Thacher, James, 78. His "Essay on Demonology," 373.
Thomas, Cyrus, 159 *n.*, 161 *n.*
Thomas, Isaiah, 310, 320, 323. His "History of Printing," 73, 265, 285, 344. Bible printed by, 83. Portrait of, 257. Annotation on Bay Psalm Book. 281, 282. MS. notes by, 283, 289, 345.
Thomas Local History Fund, 249, 251.
Thompson, Edward H., 11, 201. His gift of a collection of phonographic cylinders, being studies in Maya, 76. Communicates a paper on "Palenque," 191-194. Communicates a paper on the

"Ancient Tombs of Palenque," 418-421. Illustration, 418.
Thomson, Charles, 53.
Thornton, Matthew, 39, 48, 61.
Thwaites, Reuben G., 10, 57 n., 262 *n*. His letter to Samuel S. Green, 56 *n*. Communicates a paper on "The Story of Chequamegon Bay," 127-154.
Tillinghast, Pardon, 320. His "Water Baptism," 319.
Timberlake, *Lieut.* Henry, his "Memoirs," 173 *n*., 188 *n*.
Tolman, George, 76.
Tonti, *le chevalier*, 164 *n*.
Torrey, *Rev.* Charles T., 377.
Torrey, Samuel, his "Exhortation Unto Reformation," 348. His "Plea for the Life of Dying Religion," 349.
Tracy, Uriah, 286.
TRIPITAKA, 77.
Trumbull, J. Hammond, elected Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, 196. His "Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England," 319, 340.
Trumbull, Will, 342.
Trumbull Papers, 368.
Tuckahoe, 167, 168.
Tucker, J. Randolph, 62 *n*.
Tulley, John, his "Almanack," 321, 323, 349, 350.
Tuthill, Zechariah, 345.
Tyler, Moses Coit, his "American Literature," 365.
Tylor, Edward B., 156 *n*.

U.

Ulster, *Ireland*, 33, 34, 36, *ib. n*.
Upham, Caroline E., 370.
Upham, Charles W., 361, 363-365. His "Salem Witchcraft," 357, 358, 370. His "Lectures on Salem Witchcraft," 369, 373.
Usher, Hezekiah, *printer*, 283, 287.
Usher, James, *Abp.*, 35.
Usher, John, 296, 301, 307, 315, 349.

V.

Valentini, Philipp J. J., 201. Communicates a paper on the "Analysis of the Pictorial Text Inscribed on two Palenque Tablets, Pt. 2," 399-416. Illustrations, 404, 406. Bibliography of, 416 *n*., 417 *n*.
Van Buren, *Pres.* Martin, 61.
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 282.
Vases presented to the Society by Miss Mary B. Gardner, 201-203.
Veazie, William, 114 *n*.
Vega Carpio, Lope Felix de, 406.
Verwyst, Chrysostom, 134 *n*., 135 *n*. His "Missionary Labors," 151 *n*., 152 *n*. *Ib*. cited, 151.
Vollgraff, Johann C., elected to foreign membership, 198.

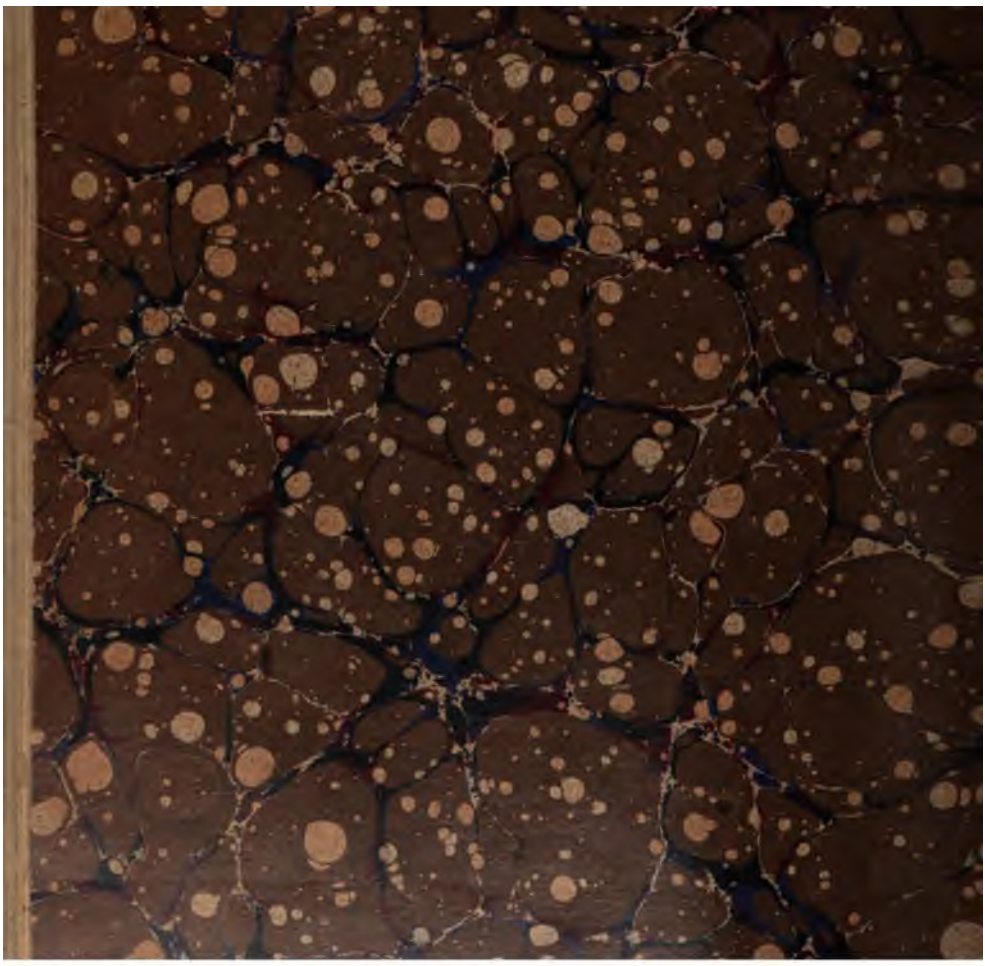
W.

Wadsworth, Benjamin, 291, 339.
Walcott, Charles H., 76.
Waldo, Samuel, introduces a colony oi Scotch-Irish into Maine, 41.
Walker, Amasa, 205.
Wallace, James, 59 *n*.
Walley, *Miss* Miriam P. (*Mrs. Hamilton A. Hill*), 208.
Walley, Samuel H., 208.
Walley, Thomas, his "Balm in Gilead to heal Sin's Wounds," 348.
Walter, Nehemiah, *et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336.
Ward, Artemas, 391-395.
Warren, Lyman M. engages in the fur trade, 146, *ib. n*.
Warren, Truman A., *fur trader*, 146.
Warren, William W., 131 *n*., 143, 145 *n*., 146 *n*., 147, 149. His "History of the Obijway Nation," 129 *n*., 133 *n*., 134 *n*.
Washburn, Emory, his "Judicial History of Massachusetts." 372.
Washburn, John D., elected a Councillor, 197.
Waterloo, *Battle-field of*, 396.
Watkins, Adrian, Bible printed by, 82.
Waukesha, *Wisconsin*, early settlement of, 376, 377.
Wayne, *Maj. Gen.* Anthony, family traditions, 57 *n*., 58.
Webster, Daniel, 16, 78. His letter to John Davis cited, 259, *et seq*.
Weeden, William B., elected a Councillor, 197.
Wellesley, Arthur, *Duke of Wellington*, 396, 398.
Wellington, *Duke of*, *see* Wellesley, Arthur.
Wesly, T., 327.
Wheatley, John, 255.

Wheeler, Charles, 335.
Wheeler, Edward P., 129 *n.*
Wheeler, J., 339.
Wheeler, Leonard H., *missionary*, 149, 150.
White, Henry A., 52 *n.*
White, Isaac D., *Jr.*, his gift to the Society, 263.
Whiting, Samuel, his "Discourse of the last Judgement," 289.
Whitmore, William H., 99, 109.
Whitney, George A., 205.
Whitney, James L., his gift to the Society, 76.
Wilkins, *Miss* Mary E., 368.
Wilkins, Richard, 339.
Willard, Samuel, 315, 345, 349, 350, 363. His "Covenant-Keeping the Way to Blessedness," and "His Necessity of Sincerity," 310. His "The Child's Portion," and "The Righteous Man's Death," 312. His "A Brief Discourse on Justification," 314. His "The Danger of Taking God's Name in Vain," 321. His "Rules for the Discernment of the Present Times," 331. His "The Law Established by the Gospel," 334. *Et al.*, "The Answer of Several Ministers," 336. His "Diary," and his "Useful instructions," 354. Opposition to witchcraft, 363.
William III., *of England*, 34, 35, 97, 324.
Williams, *Mrs.* Cecil C., 258. Her letter to C. C. Baldwin accompanying portrait of Isaiah Thomas, 257.
Williams, Henry, 258. His portrait of Isaiah Thomas, 257.
Williams, J. Fletcher, his "Memoir of William W. Warren," 147 *n.* Obituary of, communicated by J. Evarts Greene, 208–210.
Williams, Roger, his "Key into the Languages of America," 157 *n.*, 162 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 165 *n.*, 172 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 180 *n.*, 182 *n.*–189 *n.* *Ib.* cited, 170 *n.*
Williams, W., his "Cambridge Ephemeris," 349.
Wilson, James, 58.
Winchilsea, *Earl of*, his "True and Exact Relation of the Late Prodigious Earthquake," 296, *et seq.*
Winslow, *Gov.* Edward, 176 *n.*, 198 *n.*
Winsor, Justin, 13, 98 *n.*, 198, 199. His "Memorial History of Boston" cited, 40 *n.* His "Narrative and Critical History," 52 *n.* Communicates a paper on the "Literature of Witchcraft in New England," 351–373.
Winthrop, Fitz-John, *Gov. of Conn.*, 14.
Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Mass.*, 14, 20, 101, 103, 104 *n.*, 363. Cited, 104.
Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Conn.*, 14.
Winthrop, John, *F.R.S.*, 14.
Winthrop, John Still, 14, 15.
Winthrop, Robert C., 41, 261. Tribute to, by Samuel S. Green, 12, 13. Obituary of, by Charles C. Smith, 14–22. Tribute to, 73.
Winthrop, Thomas L., 15, 41, 73, 257, 266. His letter accompanying gift of the Gov. Belcher secretary, 255.
Winthrop, Wait, 14.
Wisconsin, *see* Story of Chequamegon Bay.
Wisconsin Historical Collections, 129, 130, 137 *n.*, 143, 144 *n.*, 148 *n.*, 149 *n.*
Wise, *Rev.* John, 363.
Witchcraft, paper on the "Literature of Witchcraft in New England," by Justin Winsor, 351–373.
Witherspoon, John, 52.
Wolfe, *Maj. Gen.* James, 44 *n.* 50.
Woode, Nicholas, 109.
Woods, *Miss* Sarah, 24.
Woodward, William E., his "Historical Series," 353.
Woolsey, Theodore D., 232. His "Edwards Memorial," 221 *n.*, *Ib.* cited, 221, 222.
Worcester, *Mass.*, settlement of Scotch-Irish in, 37, 38, 39.
Worcester Society of Antiquity, transfer of relics to, 72.

Y.

Young, James, 64.
Young, *Miss* Margaret, 64 *n.*



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